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Selections.

HON. GEORGE THOMPSON IN CHICAGO.

PUBLIC RECEPTION IN BRYAN HALL.

From the Chicago Tribune, Nov. 26.

HON. GEORGE THOMPSON, the distinguished, able and successful English advocate of the cause of liberty, received an enthusiastic greeting from the Union-loving citizens of Chicago, in Bryan Hall, last evening. He had been induced to appear in public a few evenings previously, but by some oversight, the inviters omitted to inform the public of the fact, and in consequence the attendance, though not small, was not such as the distinguished gentleman deserved. Last evening, though the weather was exceedingly unfavorable, the rain falling in torrents, Bryan Hall was completely filled with men and women anxious to testify their appreciation of his worth and success in the cause of human freedom and American nationality. The Veteran Reserve Corps Band was present, and discoursed music in their usual unsurpassable style. The platform was occupied by a great number of our most prominent citizens.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME.

At 8 o'clock, C. M. Hawley, Esq., rose and delivered an address of welcome. It was highly eulogistic of the great man, who was no stranger to the people of Chicago. For more than thirty years they had watched his battling for the right in the face of opposition which to most others would have been overwhelming. He had not labored for one class or nationality, but for the good of the whole human race, recognizing the divinity of its origin, and its immortal destiny. Mr. Hawley quoted at length from the celebrated speech delivered by Mr. Thompson at Manchester, England, in 1832, characterizing it as lofty in sentiment, truthful, impressive, inspirational, and effective in loosing the bonds which held in thrall millions of slaves. Their guest had early decided that the American system of government was the freest and best on the globe, but saw it tainted with the plague spot of slavery. He had sympathized with us in our efforts to get rid of the incubus, and at the risk of being pronounced an enemy in disguise to his own land, he had persistently advocated our cause, had arraigned slavery before the Bar of God, and successfully opposed the efforts of its advocates at the English court to procure recognition of their claims and material aid from their sympathizers there.

Mr. Hawley concluded as follows:

"You, sir, with those noble men, Bright and Cobden, and the laboring masses of England, are our friends, our defenders, and we welcome you to our soil and to the hospitality of our homes.

"And now, sir, allow me to introduce you to this throng of admiring and grateful friends, who have met here to extend to you their cordial welcome.

"Fellow-citizens—ladies and gentlemen: I have the honor of introducing to you the Hon. Geo. Thompson, a member of the British Parliament, who is, and always has been true to the government of the United States, and to its free institutions, both in prosperity and in adversity."

MR. THOMPSON'S ADDRESS.

Mr. Thompson felt that if anything could occur in a public meeting with which he was connected, or in the proceedings of which he was expected to take a part, to unman him, it was the presentation of an address, ascribing to him virtues which he did not claim, and honors which he dared not appropriate. He thanked them warmly for their welcome, and would wish to consider their good feelings less as a compliment to him, than an expression of favor to the sentiments which he had so long enunciated.

Centuries ago, a solitary monk, in a secluded cloister of a monastery, removed the dust from an old and then prohibited book, and ere long enunciated laws of the Divine Spirit, which, before his death, revolutionized the world. Eighty years ago a young man might have been seen wasting the midnight oil, poring over an old and musty journal and an almost obsolete volume, in one of the chambers of an academical institution at Cambridge. The journal was one of a slaveholder, the volume the production of an American—a holy man, who, more than a century ago, travelled from plantation to plantation enunciating the glorious gospel of universal freedom. The young man was studying to produce an essay on the "Traffic in the Human Species," to obtain a prize offered by the Chancellor of the University to which he belonged. The young man won the prize, but obtained not only academical honors, but honors of which mankind might be proud, for in that study he had learned to abhor the nefarious practice, and henceforth he gave his whole energies to wipe that foul spot from the escutcheon of his government. The young student was Thomas Clarkson, the noble one whom the whole world of lovers of freedom delighted to honor, and who lived to see his labors crowned with success, to see the shackles struck from the hands of every slave in the British dominions.

Thirty years ago a young man left England for America, not to bear any popular sentiments, or as an ambassador of any great institution, but simply as a quiet missionary to preach the tenets of freedom; that God had created all men equal. That young man, with his wife and family, on arriving at New York, went to one of the largest hotels, asking no favors, but simply the rights of every traveller. When, however, his sentiments were discovered, he was cast into the street, and had to seek a refuge in a neighboring State. On proceeding to New England he found in Boston a few in whose breasts the spark of liberty burned and who were willing to hear him, but even here the opposition was so fierce that often he had to lie concealed to save himself from the violence of infuriates. If he journeyed abroad he had often to preach the doctrine of universal liberty at the point of the bowie-knife, and at length left the country in disgrace and in disguise to seek protection on British soil. Thirty years after that time the same young man arrived in a British ship at the port in the old Bay State which before he stole away from. He was received by the officials of the harbor, who welcomed him to their city, even refusing to examine or search his luggage. In the grand Music Hall at Boston he addressed crowds of listeners on the subject which before they so bitterly opposed, but which now they perfectly endorsed—the abolition of slavery. New York, which before spewed him out of its mouth, received him with pleasure, and in the very House of the Representatives of the people at Washington he met with a kind reception. That man again left their shores to return to his home. Now, after the lapse of a short period, he revisited their country to find them more unanimous than ever on the side of right. His name is George Thompson (tremendous applause).

He did not allude to this subject for personal aggrandizement or in an egotistical strain, but because he knew that honor tendered to George Thompson was honor tendered to the cause he upheld. He had received the address which had been just presented to him with feelings of deep gratitude. He should ever cherish it, and when his form lay beneath the sod, his children should hand it to their children as a proof that one who takes up a good cause shall in the end prosper; that he who soweth good seed shall in time return rejoicing, bringing his sheaves with him.

Yesterday, continued the speaker, he attended the Thanksgiving services, held in one of the city churches, and truly was he impressed with the great cause Americans had for thanksgiving, when they considered the position they now occupy. Three years and a half ago the rebel hordes of the South rose in wicked rebellion against their just and lawful government. At that time the "slavocracy" was monarch of territory containing over six million of white inhabitants, holding more than three million and a half of slaves. Now they only rule a territory whose inhabitants number about 3,265,000 whites, and 2,400,000 colored people (cheers). In 1861 the secession oligarchy possessed 1,200,000 square miles of territory; in December, 1863, their land had dwindled down to 512,442 square miles. This war a failure! Why, the base lie is hurled back from 607,558 square miles wrested from the rebellion with its 3,208,000 white inhabitants, and from the 1,650,000 emancipated bondsmen. To-day the Union flag floated in every State claimed by rebeldom; Tennessee, Kentucky, Western Virginia, Missouri, Eastern Virginia, Lousiana, Florida, Mississippi, Arkansas, Texas, Georgia, North Carolina, and the very islands of the sea in Charleston harbor proclaim the falsity of the assertion, while the triumph of Union arms still continues to increase. Even to-day the wires bring the glorious news of rebel defeat in the words, "Macon is in ashes." But the triumphs of war were not all the nation had to be thankful for; there were the glorious deeds done by Legislature, by acts of Congress, or by the internal and spontaneous action of the States themselves. Four years ago, as enunciated by Jefferson Davis in the Senate, the determination of the South was that the accursed institution of slavery should pervade every State and territory of the country. It wished to convert the glorious States of the Northwest into fields for the propagation of human slaves. But now how were their expectations disappointed? The two elections preceding that of Abraham Lincoln turned on the subject of the status of the territories. Now what was that status? Free soil (cheers). Then again, what a difference has the last four years wrought in the condition of the principal towns of the North. Then, under the very shadow of the Capitol, slavery existed in its most hideous forms. To-day the foul gamblers in souls have been driven from the free North, and no man, whatever be his complexion, can complain that he does not possess his just rights. Before the war the border States were large fields for the propagation and breeding of human slaves, the same as if they were four-footed cattle. Then the accursed system of slave-trading was carried on along the shores of Africa, the hellish stripes were protected by the American flag, and right of search was denied to every nation of the world. To-day, by a treaty with the British government, slave ships sailing under the two flags can be boarded, their contents freed, the ship captured, and its crew condemned and punished as pirates. Then the sable republics of Hayti and Liberia were not recognized by the American government; but to-day Abraham Lincoln will recognize no distinction arising from difference in color. Since the war commenced Abraham Lincoln has promulgated an ordinance which gave freedom to over three million of subjects, and will herald freedom to unborn millions. That ordinance will cause the name of that noble man to live forever, with the names of those favored few who have successfully labored for human good. It was said of the first Napoleon that he would go down to posterity with the code which bears his name in his hand. It may be said of Abraham Lincoln that he shall go down to unborn ages ever holding in his hand his glorious proclamation of freedom.

But they had still more to be thankful for; the proclamation was not the only measure which he as an Englishman could congratulate them upon. Let them contrast the Louisiana of 1864 with the Louisiana of 1860. To-day Louisiana was a free State with a free Constitution. On the 11th of June last, 30,000 men and women, who the day before were chattels, marched the streets of New Orleans as free men and women. In Maryland—"My Maryland"—to-day the Maryland of freedom, one of the old thirteen, also, "Old things are passed away and all things are become new!" Not four years ago assassins lay in Baltimore to murder their own President, and the gallant boys of Massachusetts were slain in that city while marching to support the old flag. In that State the great and cautious General, who a day ago stood before them as the champion of freedom, considered it a measure of absolute necessity to arrest the whole Legislature. At that time could anyone hope that such good could be produced from such a Nazareth? But to-day Maryland is a free State, and stands disenthralled from the shackles of slavery. Since assassins laid in wait for Mr. Lincoln he has been there. Frederick Douglass also has been there (laughter). Ere long he trusted Arkansas, and Kentucky will follow in the glorious train. Nine and twenty years ago he argued for six days and nights with a celebrated Kentuckian—Dr. Robert J. Breckenridge—on the subject of slavery. Since that time he was surprised to find that the same man was stumping the country in favor of unconditional, uncompensated emancipation. Mr. Thompson congratulated his audience on the measures proposed by the Union party to so alter the Constitution as to permanently destroy slavery, and the plans to utterly abolish the execrable Fugitive Slave laws. He knew that ere long the great good will be effected, but he impatiently waited to see it done. If Americans only give their hearty approval to the good work, it will be speedily brought about, for what America wills she can accomplish. They had already done nobly; they had raised the negro from a thing to a man, from a man to a soldier, never more to be enslaved or belong to an enslaved race. The speaker had learned much in this country, and would have much to tell when he returned to his own people. They had the greatest army in the world, a native born army, a thinking and voting army, and what was better, an army which knew what to do with its votes. He had been much struck with the great energy with which the people in America sent luxuries and conveniences of home to the soldiers in the field. Last May he became cognizant of the fact that $280,000,000, or 45,000,000 sterling had been subscribed by the people to send comforts to the boys in the field. This sum, more than the income of ten or twenty petty European sovereignties, was, in his estimation, the most glorious offering which had ever been laid upon the shrine of benevolence. All these things were indicative of the great change which had come over this country since the day when he first visited the country. Americans were now becoming themselves again. They had too long lain with their heads resting in the lap of a Delilah, until the sons of the Pilgrim Fathers, of the Revolutionary Sires, became as other men. But now Sampson had risen in his might—he had felt for the pillars of the accursed habitation of slavery, and having them in his grasp, had torn down every vestige of the institution (loud and continued applause).

The speaker was listened to throughout with the greatest attention, his remarks being frequently interrupted by the plaudits of the vast assemblage. On one or two occasions the hall actually shook with the enthusiastic manifestations of his delighted auditors.

By request, Mr. Frank Lumbard then sang "Old Shady," and afterwards the "Battle Cry of Freedom," when the meeting adjourned with three cheers for "The world's champion of freedom—George Thompson."

BEFORE THE BOARD OF TRADE.

From the Chicago Journal, Nov. 23.

The proceedings on 'Change at noon, to-day, were rendered unusually interesting by the presence of Gov. Richard Yates, Gen. John A. Logan, and Hon. George Thompson. The Governor was first introduced, and in a few remarks, highly complimentary to the Board and to the unflinching patriotism of Gen. John A. Logan, prepared the way for the reception of the latter. Throughout his brief address, the Governor was highly applauded.

On taking the floor, Gen. Logan was received with three rousing cheers. He said that he had had but few opportunities of becoming acquainted with the citizens of Chicago, and was happy to meet them on this occasion. While all men looked with interest and pride upon the soldiers in the field, the labor and patriotism of such associations as the Board of Trade at home should not be forgotten. It has furnished noble regiments and a battery for the war; it has never neglected any opportunity for serving the soldiers; it has done so much and so well against the rebellion that it is honored and revered among soldiers. And it could well afford to do so much, for unless the integrity of the government is preserved, this association would amount to but little; and this thought should be an incentive to other demonstrations of patriotism. He believed that in the suppression of rebels in the field and of traitors everywhere (applause) lies the permanent peace of this government, which has the power to restore its integrity. But unity of sentiment and action, without regard to party, is necessary, for we can have no peace till every rebel shall lay down his arms. He had a duty to perform in the field; we, at home, have also duties to perform, and he believed that we should perform them until American arms shall accomplish union and freedom, giving us one flag, one country and one God, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from the Lakes to the Gulf.

The General retired amid loud plaudits, when Hon. George Thompson, M.P., of England, and one of the strongest advocates of our government there, was introduced, and received with much applause.

Mr. Thompson said, that if he ever had an unfriendly feeling towards this country, he would blush to meet so patriotic an assemblage as that before which he now appeared. But he never had. On the contrary, he had been its unflinching friend; and although there are those in England who are opposed to the success of your Republican institutions, they are not numbered with the democracy—the toiling, thinking millions of England—who cherish the names of Farragut, Grant, Sherman, Logan (applause), and awaited with interest the day when we shall attain our "Liberty and Union—one and inseparable—now and forever!" (Applause.) He desired the speedy restoration of the Union to its integrity. He had watched, with deep interest, the progress of the recent election, and seen in its results much that will soon lead to our national success and an unbroken Union.

The speaker retired, followed by enthusiastic applause.

AMERICAN NATIONALITY.

A LECTURE BY WENDELL PHILLIPS.

From the Portland Transcript, Nov. 26.

A LARGE, though not crowded audience, assembled to listen to the first lecture of the season. As he never fails to do, Mr. Phillips commanded the closest attention of his hearers, not unfrequently eliciting their applause. It is usual to speak of him as an easy and graceful speaker, but these are the least of his merits as an orator. His strength lies in his ready command of the most forcible language, the most fitting words with which to express his pitiless ideas. Other speakers may equal him in ease and fluency of expression, but few approach him in the combined strength and directness of his language. On this occasion he was less censorious than usual, casting behind him the immediate party question of the day and looking forward to the great future of the nation. His theme was a homeogeneous American nationality and the means by which it is to be attained. He argued that no nation composed of one race, or rent asunder by antagonistic ideas, could ever maintain itself as a first-class power, and in order for our country to do this it must confer equality upon all the races within its borders, and extend the ideas and institutions of New England over its entire territory. His great fear was that when we come to make peace with the South this would not be sufficiently insisted upon. His ideas were intensely national, but involved a moral and social revolution, requiring at least a century for its development.

After a few introductory words, in which he alluded to John B. Gough, who is to follow him in this course, as the most fascinating of American platform speakers, he remarked that every thoughtful American must always and everywhere feel the deepest interest in the great questions now agitating the nation, and his desire was to give us a keener insight into this great problem. His lesson, he said, was the Times and our Duty. I shall not be critical. The long agony is over. There are no Republicans or Democrats to-day. We are all Americans, with but one object, to save and glorify our nationality. I shall have nothing to say of the merits of the President. The votes of the people have made him the representative of American ideas, and I have nothing to say but to rally all earnest men and endeavor to make the nation walk in the only path of success and lasting peace.

Neither do I stand here to-night as an Abolitionist. Events have taken the negro off our hands. His freedom is inevitable and cannot be avoided. There can be no Union or Liberty without it. It is the gradual unfolding of the great elements of our national life. De Tocqueville has shown that all nations unconsciously gravitate towards Democratic institutions, the great sub-tone of the people always, in the end, making itself heard in national affairs. But America, by avowed purpose, was founded on Democracy. Not by unconscious gravitation, but our avowed struggle was to reach it. Two hundred years ago we recognized it and planned for it—that every man should be equal before the law, until now we have reached in New England the perfect essence of Democratic institutions. In the South, on the contrary, there is an aristocracy of skin. Now no nation, with two great contending ideas, ever became a first class power. One idea must dominate. It is so with the individual. Two passions make him weak. To be strong he must be ruled by one. If it is ambition, then avarice must stand behind it. When England was divided by the war of the Roses, all Europe ignored her. During the long struggle between Parliament and King she was but a second-rate power. It was only when the House of Commons took the lead that she attained a first-class position. So with France; she has been a first-rate power only when military despotism put Democratic aspirations under its heel. Now we are struggling with an antagonism of two ideas—the idea of Massachusetts that every man is equal before the law, and the idea of the South that labor is disgraceful. So long as this antagonism exists we shall be a second-rate power and Europe will spurn and tread upon us. Since 1861 every act of foreign powers has been an insult to us. England hastened to recognize the belligerency of the South, and allowed the Alabama to escape from her ports. Even our friends in England, Cobden and the rest, must tell us for whom to vote! What do they know about it? We are looked upon as a great people shattered by an idea, and Europe despises and pities us. My goal is a homogeneous nationality which shall weld Boston and New Orleans, New York and Charleston into one thunderbolt, and make us able to control the continent. Then the nations of Europe will respect us.

Again, no nation ever became great which was born of one blood. It is like the intermarriage of cousins. Spain is an unmixed nation, and she has sunk to a third-rate power. France blends a dozen races, and she leads the van. We should look therefore upon the colored race as we look upon the Irish and the Germans. My nationality is imperial, like that of Rome, which united all blood, and climates. God means this country to be the mingled mosaic of the merits of every race. The Yankee, with as much brains in his hand as other races have in their skull, would never alone have spanned this continent with railroads. We have used up two million of Irishmen in the work. So at the South, the black is a sturdy, indomitable race, that cannot be killed out like the Indian. We must have him whether we like him or not, and like wise men should accommodate ourselves to our fate. The blacks are a patient, enduring, obedient race, and the country will be the better for these elements. In my nationality there is but one idea—the harmonious and equal mingling of all races. I hate an Englishman to-day! (Applause.) Not from a narrow nationality, but because I long for the time when we shall demand and secure the place we had among the nations before 1860.

How shall we reach this future of a homogeneous nation? Everybody wants peace—but how? I want to see South Carolina a true sister of New England, working for the same ends. Nothing else will really give us peace. The anti-slavery struggles of thirty years have developed the ideas of Northern civiliza tion into an actual antagonism with the ideas of the South, and there can be no peace until they triumph. How long the battle may last no one can tell. We shall not whip the South until we crush its ideas. I believe in Grant, and don't believe in the Senate; in cannon balls and not politicians. My prayer is that the war may last until all are equal under the flag. Who doubts which is the stronger? Twenty million of freemen against three hundred thousand aristocrats. But how shall we use the victory? The bargain—the treaty—there is danger that the people will be cheated in the settlement of the war. Grant's purpose is as straight forward as a cannon ball, but a politician is like a horse's fore leg and shoulder—there is not a straight bone in the whole column. It must lean and give, or the beast couldn't go. We should make public opinion so imperative that the bargain cannot go against us. This problem asks your attention. Our commerce is destroyed and France, in Mexico, arrogantly tramples on the Monroe doctrine. If we would correct this, if we would be a great people, we must have a Union without schism, without disease, dominated by one idea. There is no other peace but to permeate the South with Northern ideas, educate the poor whites into citizens. Our government is strong enough to take those five million whites and mould them over, and until this is done we can have no peace, not even if Grant should camp in Richmond. Andy Johnson is the greatest statesman of the South, fitly put at the head of the Senate, but even he recognizes only a white man's government.

Sooner or later we shall have peace. Then we shall be "magnanimous"—and there's our temptation. Who is to be generous? I say cut the slave's chain, but the American people honestly differ from me. Now Jeff. Davis is that sort of a man that he will never yield nor run. It is with him, empire or the grave. He and five hundred others like him rule the South with an iron despotism. He has made up his mind to conquer or die, and I should not wonder if he found his grave before Richmond. The Tombses and Benjamins will skulk to Europe, but Jeff. Davis won't yield, and I believe in Jeff. While he lives there will be no compromise. Only when he dies is there danger to the country. Then we shall fall into bargaining with the weaker set who will follow him. Suppose his successors say, we yield, every black man in the army shall be free, and all others after 1870 or 1890? Three out of four of you would say that is wise, that is sensible, that is not fanatical like Garrison, and we should all yield to it. And then one half of our success would be wasted! Why, look at it. Maryland, of her own free act, has declared her slaves free, but yet Gen. Wallace has been forced to interfere to secure them their freedom. If we force the South to emancipation, and leave the work in their hands it will never be done. I would leave no stone unturned until the ideas of Massachusetts kiss the Gulf of Mexico. I would leave no possibility of the nation's being again disturbed by the old contending elements. This can only be done by an amendment to the Constitution that the flag shall float over nothing but freedom. This is the only question. Lincoln is honest, but he is a politician, and waits to see which side is the strongest. He acts on the maxim that it is safe to neglect your friends. He neglected Massachusetts, and she gave him seventy thousand majority. He folded the lamb of Kentucky in his arms, and she went for McClellan! Show him the right way and he will follow it. There can be no peace until the ideas of the North reach the Gulf of Mexico. When that is accomplished we shall be the strongest, noblest nation on earth, and every one of us will be proud to say, I am an American citizen.

SLAVERY AND THE BIBLE.

[The following debate occurred in the recent Constitutional Convention of Maryland:]

MR. BERRY, of Prince George's—Now I propose to show from the Bible that slavery is of divine origin. Will the gentleman be astonished? [A Voice, "Yes."] The first reference I shall make is to the 14th chapter of Genesis, the 14th, 15th and 16th verses. I believe my friend from Cecil (Mr. Scott) is fond of reading the Bible, but I am afraid he has read it to little purpose:

"And when Abram heard that his brother was taken captive, he armed his trained servants, born in his own house, three hundred and eighteen, and pursued them unto Dan.

"And he divided himself against them, he and his servants, by night, and smote them and pursued them unto Hobah, which is on the left hand of Damascus.

"And he brought back all the goods, and also brought again his brother Lot, and his goods, and the women also and the people."

Mr. Scott—That shows the propriety of arming slaves (laughter).

Mr. Berry—They were fighting for their households, and in support of their institutions, led by their master. Abram possessed servants which he marshalled against his enemies.

Mr. Scott—Just what Abraham is doing now against our enemies (renewed laughter).

Mr. Berry—I now refer to the 16th chapter of Genesis:

"Now Sarai, Abram's wife, bore him no children, and she had an handmaid, an Egyptian, whose name was Hagar.

"And Sarai said unto Abram: Behold now the Lord hath restrained me from bearing; I pray thee, go in unto my maid, it may be that I may obtain children by her. And Abram hearkened to the voice of Sarai."

Mr. Scott—I did not know you claimed Bible authority for that practice (great laughter).

Mr. Berry continued reading from the Bible to show the result of Abram's following Sarai's advice, and the divine sanction of his conduct, a blessing being pronounced upon his seed by an angel of the Lord, when he was again interrupted by Mr. Scott, who asked permission to say something. Mr. B., already worried and fearing further discomfiture, refused to be catechised, and took refuge in cant, saying:

"I am astonished, Mr. President, that whilst the Holy Scriptures are being read here, there should be so much levity. I am astonished that gentlemen should not have more respect for themselves—for you as the presiding officer of this body—for the Bible and its holy teachings, than to make anything read from it a subject of merriment."

BURY THE CARCASS.

[We take great satisfaction in copying this article from the *Christian Intelligencer*, the organ of the Dutch Reformed Church—a paper remarkable heretofore for its "conservative" tendencies, and distinguished by its hostility to the anti-slavery movement. Truly the times have changed! "What hath God wrought!"]

OUR excellent conservative cotemporary, the *Presbyterian*, in a recent issue gives an article in reply to the Rev. Stuart Robinson, from which the following is an extract:

"Every day makes more evident, as we think, the great importance, to national and Church interests, of the entire destruction of American slavery. We sincerely trust that slavery will end with the war, and that the coming peace will bring freedom to all in the land. We believe that there must be one nation in our great and wide land, and that it is of the highest importance that it should rapidly become a homogeneous nation. We hope that there will soon be one Presbyterian Church in this land, and that this will be a homogeneous Church, spreading everywhere and thoroughly knit together, and compacted by that which every part supplieth. Slavery is the divisive element both in Church and State, and, therefore, let it die the death. We have no disposition, with these convictions, to mourn over the signs of the times. We are glad that Maryland is a free State, and that Missouri will soon stand by her side. May we not be permitted, without offense, to add that we believe and sincerely hope that when the editor of the *True Presbyterian* shall again visit Kentucky, he will find it empty, swept, and garnished—completely and forever delivered from that evil spirit which so tears the body politic as it goes out from it, but leaves behind it sounder health and the promise of happier days."

It seems to us that there is common ground on which all lovers of their country can unite, no matter what their previous opinions. The institution of slavery is ruined in this land. With freedom legally established in Maryland, Missouri, and Louisiana, and actually secured by military power in a portion at least of every other State, there can be no hope of maintaining the system in quiet and successful operation, even if nothing more is done to harm it than has been already accomplished. Why, then, keep this *caput mortuum?* Why cherish the carcass when the soul is gone? Why hold on to this relic of former days, when it can answer no purpose but one of distraction?

It is devoutly to be hoped that the present Congress will, before its dissolution in March next, pass the act abolishing slavery in the United States, and send it to the several States for concurrence. Entirely apart from the intrinsic merits of the case, this is desirable as an issue from a dead-lock. It will simplify matters in Church and State. It will take a disturbing element out of all political and ecclesiastical circles. It will enable alienated parties to come together far more easily, and cordially, and permanently than they would if this bone of contention were left for either to gnaw upon. It will lay down an ultimatum which is sure to come in the end, but which, by coming now, will save a world of difficulty and confusion, for at once persons and parties, States and Churches, will begin to adjust themselves to this state of things, accepting it as final and unalterable.

This course, too, avoids all objections as to legality, constitutionality, and the like. It amends the fundamental law by the method prescribed in its own articles. The consent of three-fourths of the States, expressed either by their Legislatures or by Conventions, will not only comply with the rule, but will furnish a sufficient basis in morals and principle for such a mighty revolution. The concurrence of so many distinct bodies politic will give a majestic sanction of law to the great act ordaining freedom for all races and colors as the natural and normal status of all laborers upon this continent.

We trust that this view of the matter will be kept before the attention of the opposition in the lower House of Congress. They have thus far blocked the wheels of the Constitutional Amendment. And yet nothing could be better for their party interests than to allow it to pass. It will relieve them from the odium of standing as protectors of an institution whose immediate fosterers sought to destroy their country. It will put the Democratic party back upon its old traditions, by which it governed the people for fifty years, and might well hope to do the same for an equal period in the future. It will relegate political discussions back to their old proper bounds, and leave the social system to the operation of moral causes. It is true, one may say, that we propose cutting the Gordian knot. Certainly; but nothing can be done to establish peace securely until the knot is out of the way. It will be always a most perplexing, annoying, and dangerous issue. To untie it may take years, during which all will be confusion and disorder. But cut it effectually, and at once order begins to come out of chaos, new institutions will crystalize out of existing materials, and society will settle down on such basis as the circumstances will admit.

RECONSTRUCTION.

BY WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON.

THE recent Presidential election has shown that it is the unfaltering determination of the people—no matter at what cost of treasure or blood—to put down the rebellion, and perpetuate the unity of the republic. The steadily advancing triumphs of the Federal arms, and the growing exhaustion of the traitorous Confederacy, demonstrate that the bloody struggle is drawing to a close. There is no doubt, therefore, in a military point of view, as to the final result. The government will be victorious; every rebellious State will be brought under its authority, to the full constitutional extent; Jeff. Davis and his Cabinet, together with the rebel Congress, will have to seek safety in ignominious flight or foreign exile, unless captured, and subjected to the penalty of their flagitious crimes. Then will follow a task as momentous as it will be anomalous—to recreate or reconstruct loyal out of disloyal States, and to admit them into the Union as though they had but just emerged from a territorial condition. For those States having thrown off their allegiance to the General government, and, for a period of four years acted as independently of it as though they were in Europe or Asia, are under general outlawry for high treason, and therefore have forfeited their relationship and terminated their existence as States, within the constitutional meaning of the term. There is no part of the Constitution to which they either can or do appeal for justification or clemency; they repudiate and scornfully trample upon it, in the concrete and in detail; they have ceased to be represented in Congress, and nullified all the old pro-slavery guaranties embodied in the three-fifths slave representation, the fugitive rendition clause, and the governmental duty to interpose, if need be, for the suppression of domestic insurrection. How they can either theoretically or practically be considered within the Union, while waging deadly war against it and violating all its obligations, they have never undertaken to show; of such folly and effrontery they have not been guilty. This monstrous paradox has been left to their Northern pseudo Democratic sympathizers to frame and advocate in their behalf. For themselves, they ask no pardon, acknowledge no criminality, propose no surrender, claim no exemption from any liabilities they have incurred, proclaim eternal hostility. If they are overcome, they expect to pay the penalty; and if they succeed, it will be by the recognition of their independence.

Assuming that their subjugation is certain, and not far distant, the conditions on which they may be restored to the Union become a matter of the gravest importance. Whatever distinction, by way of grace or pardon, may be made by the President or by Congress between the rebel leaders and the more or less deluded rank-and-file of the rebel army, there must be no consideration extended to the rebel States, as such, whereby they shall be recognized as legitimately organized, or possessing governmental functions. They are in a state of misrule, anarchy, chaos, out of which order and constitutional relations are to be evolved by the fiat of Congress, which alone has the rightful power to determine the fact of the existence of a State. No amnesty of President Lincoln, whether as civil ruler or under the war power, can lawfully transform the rebellious into loyal States. Before they can be in a suitable condition for the political action which must be precedent to their reconstruction, the rebellion within their limits must be effectually suppressed, slavery abolished, and the supremacy of the Federal government acknowledged. It must be for Congress to determine the limitation of military control, even after resistance had ceased; and also at what time, and upon what conditions, a civil government may be organized by the inhabitants—taking special care to guard the ballot-box, so that those who may be still treasonable in spirit and design shall not find access to it; and so that the truly loyal and the emancipated may not come under the State rule of their blood-thirsty enemies. No other course can give repose or security, or make atonement for the horrible excesses of those revolted portions of the country.

Though the amnesty proclamation of the President, in regard to the reorganizing of loyal State governments in rebel territories, was unquestionably well-intended in the service of freedom, still it was at best only permissive, and evidently to meet a present emergency in the pathway of returning loyalty, without assuming to be absolute or final as against the action of Congress. However it may be interpreted, it cannot contravene the constitutional powers of Congress, nor place in the Union a *bona fide* State without the sanction of that body. If in Louisiana and Arkansas, State governments have been organized upon the terms prescribed in the amnesty—namely, the abolition of slavery, and the number of persons voting being not less than one-tenth the number of the votes cast in those States at the Presidential election in 1860—and if they have proved to be of local service, nevertheless, they must first receive the sanction of Congress or give way to some other forms to be prescribed by the national legislature, before being represented in either branch of that assembly. The President was careful to remind those to whom the amnesty was addressed, "that whether members sent to Congress from any State shall be admitted to seats, *constitutionally rests exclusively with the respective Houses*, AND NOT TO ANY EXTENT WITH THE EXECUTIVE." Let Congress therefore act independently, and up to its full prerogative, and at the same time aim to preserve as much unity of action as possible with the Executive.—*Liberator*.

THE ILLINOIS SLAVE CODE.

ILLINOIS has an infamous black code, enacted in the depth of the servility of the Democratic party to slavery, which makes it a slave State without any of the gains of the wrong, but wholly for the benefit of the Southern slave-trader. These laws are even more inhuman and oppressive than the codes of the slave States of the South. The savage despotisms of Africa and Asia are now standing similes, but we doubt if anything so atrocious as the Illinois black code, was ever put into written law in any hereditary despotism. We hope the new Legislature will begin by purging the statutes of this disgrace. Ohio once had a code called the "Black Laws," containing some of the mildest features of the Illinois laws, but in obedience to the popular sentiment, all the Democratic members of the Legislature united with the "Free Soilers" and abolished it many years ago. All of this inhuman legislation, which makes freedom a crime, is disappearing before the civilization of the age, and it is time that the black code of Illinois, the most atrocious of all, were expunged. In the South the human slave-hounds are despised. Yet this code makes the people of Illinois slave-hounds for the South.

These laws forbid blacks to live in the State, except upon certain cruel conditions. They impose a fine of $500 for harboring, hiring or giving sustenance to black persons who have not been legally permitted. A citizen of Illinois may have his property confiscated for giving a loaf of bread to a poor or fugitive black person. They deny to a person claimed as a slave every form of trial. They fine any person who shall bring any one into the State in order to emancipate him. They exclude colored witnesses in suits against white persons, thus giving the whites the power to wrong and outrage them with impunity. They provide that any colored person found in the State, not having the legal permit, shall be taken up and an owner advertised for, and if none appear, the colored person shall be sold into slavery for a year; and they provide that the masters may whip these slaves for certain offenses, and for refusing to work—as if to go into every detail of the slave system, they declare all contracts void between master and servant.

These laws are in direct conflict with the Constitution of the United States, which declares that no person shall be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law. They are a nullification of the fundamental principle of our government. They could not have been enacted except where the judgments of men had fled to brutish beasts. This black cloud has now been lifted from the understanding of the Northern people, and all the relics of the barbarism which was committed during that eclipse of manhood should now be speedily buried out of our sight.—*Cincinnati Gazette*.

THE PROSPECT IN MISSOURI.

From the St. Louis Democrat.

IT is most natural, in the first flush of popular triumph involving the endorsement of principles long contended for, to count too strongly upon enjoying immediately the fruits of victory. Such may prove the case in Missouri. Years have been consumed in the struggle for a freedom policy, from which its advocates have not unreasonably promised themselves and the State the most beneficent results. We have no doubt that every expectation from this source will, in the end, be fully realized. But it is possible—even more than probable—that the immediate anticipations of some will be disappointed. There is a feeling consequent upon the great triumph for freedom which has just been won, that marked improvement will come at once, and as the instantaneous effect of the first success. This impression should not be indulged too freely, lest it lead to subsequent disappointment and depression. A miracle cannot be expected. Results in this case must flow from ordinary causes, and when we consider the present condition of Missouri, we discover much to dampen anything like extravagant anticipation. It would be difficult to imagine a more unfavorable state of things than that which greets the incoming Administration in this State. The body politic has been sick nigh unto death. True, the disease may be said to be checked—broken—but the patient is very far from convalescent. Its strength has been wasted, and every member is sore with the ravages of past sufferings. The most careful handling will be required on the part of the new physician to bring about an effectual cure.

It is a very easy matter to foresee some of the leading difficulties which stand in the way of Missouri's restoration to peace and lasting prosperity. She is frightfully impoverished. Her public debt is very great, and far beyond her present ability to liquidate. Her private resources have been enormously depleted by the exhaustive processes of internal war, and in every interest she has been a heavy loser. She has wealth both natural and acquired, and is particularly rich in the former. So considerable are her prospective reliances, that nothing save the immediate future need occasion uneasiness. "Repudiation" especially is a word which should have no place in her vocabulary. But when it comes to look seriously at the prospects immediately before our State, no extravagance of hopefulness can be safely indulged. Our progress towards the bright pictures we have been accustomed to portray of the results of freedom and radical loyalty, although sure, must at first of necessity be slow. Time will be required for their realization, and their realization is worth all the time it will cost. Prudence, too, and solid statesmanship on the part of our rulers, both executive and legislative, are sternly demanded by the emergency; and a failure at this time is neither likely to be overlooked nor forgiven. The responsibility which now goes with the reins of the State government is certain to prove both weighty and irksome. But the responsibility of the present crisis is twofold. It devolves partly upon the Governor and Legislature, and partly upon the people. There is a mutual obligation to be borne in mind. From the Governor and his coordinates in the government, the people will justly expect not only an honest, but an able and fearless discharge of every duty, and in the exercise of the appointing power, a careful discrimination for the best capacities and the truest principles, rather than the gratification of personal or partisan claims. But at the same time the State authorities will have an equal right to expect of the people patience, forbearance and an honest weighing of the difficulties of the situation. Let these mutual obligations be faithfully met, and all will be well. Heart-burnings and murmurings, which it is not altogether unreasonable to expect, will in that event be avoided, and solid satisfaction be much more speedily attained. We have reason now to look for the beginning of a vast improvement in our State affairs, but we should not forget that we can only now look for the beginning.

THE PLOT TO BURN NEW YORK.

[Below we give the article which appeared in the editorial columns of the Richmond *Whig* in March last, containing the amiable proposition to burn New York and other cities in the North. In the light of the recent conflagrations this article has a peculiar interest. We reproduce it as a striking evidence of the good temper of the rebels in Richmond.]

WE may not, it is true, be able to send a raiding party to dash into Philadelphia or New York to do the work; nor have we artillery that will carry Greek fire far enough to reach them—but we have that which will go farther than horsemen can ride, and will penetrate what the mightiest artillery would make no impression on—we have money. A million of dollars would lay in ashes New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Chicago, Pittsburg, Washington, and all their chief cities, and the men to do the business may be picked up by the hundred in the streets of those very cities. If it should be thought unsafe to use them, there are daring men in Canada, of Morgan's and other commands, who have escaped from Yankee dungeons, and who would rejoice at an opportunity of doing something that would make all Yankeedom howl with anguish and consternation.

That what we are saying may be given a still more practical turn, we will add that we know and have talked with a man—a well known officer in the army, and every way competent and fit—who is ready and anxious at once to proceed to Canada on this business. He knows the risks he will encounter, but he is sure of the results that will be achieved.

We have addressed ourselves to the authorities of the government, because we feel not a shadow of a doubt, that this mode of warfare would, under the circumstances, be justifiable, legitimate and right. But should they reject the plan, as we suppose they would, then we wish to remind the public that the scheme can as well be executed by private enterprise as by the direction or connivance of the authorities. Richmond, for whom such a fate was designed, Charleston every day witnessing the disposition of the enemy in this regard, and hourly experiencing the hazard of having their purposes achieved, could easily raise the money needed for the accomplishment of the design. Money will supply the men, and they, properly organized and directed, would easily and certainly do the work.

[In the Richmond *Whig* of July 24th appeared the following proposition:]

THE DEVOTED BAND.—It is believed that there are five or ten thousand men in the South ready and willing to share the fate of Curtius, and devote themselves to the salvation of their country. It is proposed that all who are willing to make this sacrifice shall arm themselves with a sword, two five-shooters, and a carbine each, and meet on horseback at some place to be designated, convenient for the great work in hand. *Fire and sword must be carried into the houses of those who are visiting those blessings upon their neighbors.* Philadelphia, and even New York, is not beyond the reach of a long and brave arm. The moral people of these cities cannot be better taught the virtues of invasion, than by the blazing light of their own dwellings.

None need apply for admission to the "Devoted Band" but those who are prepared to take their lives in their hands, and who would indulge not the least expectation of ever returning. They dedicate their lives to the destruction of their enemies.

A. S. B. D. B., Richmond.

All Southern papers are requested to give this notice a few insertions.

The Secretary of State directs that the following dispatch be made known in New York and Philadelphia by telegraph. W. H. SEWARD.

"OFFICE OF THE ASSOCIATED PRESS,
"BALTIMORE, Dec. 1, 1864.

"A letter just received from Annapolis, at the office of the Baltimore *American*, from a paroled prisoner from Georgia, contains a statement which appears to be important, in connection with the recent attempt to burn the city of New York. I send you the substance of the letter. It is signed by John H. Ripple, Thirty-ninth Illinois Veteran Volunteers.

"He says when he passed through Savannah, on the 19th, he was informed by a professed Union citizen that he would hear of the greatest city burning on record if the rebels succeeded in the North, and that it was to come off in a very few days. The party went on to state that one Captain Montgomery, formerly of Baltimore, who before the war was in the livery business, was the agent charged with the duty of firing the Northern cities. Motgomery, he

said, intended to burn New York, Washington, Baltimore, and Philadelphia. He further said that the rebels in Savannah were high in expectation of soon hearing of Montgomery's success, and that he was to receive a large sum of money if successful. The writer says he thought little of the statement until after his arrival.

"He saw the accounts in the papers, whereupon he deemed it his duty to make this statement for publication. Deeming it proper that this information should be communicated to the government, I take the liberty of sending you this dispatch.

"Respectfully, ALEX. FULTON."

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, DECEMBER 10, 1864.

ON and after January 1st, 1865, the price of the STANDARD, alike to old and new subscribers, and to those in arrears as well as those paying in advance, will be $3 per annum. The reasons for this advance are so obvious and imperative that our readers will, we doubt not, cheerfully acquiesce in the same.

THE INCENDIARY PLOT.

OUR New York Copperheads narrowly escaped a trial as by fire, the other night, as our readers well know. A trial by fire in no metaphorical but in the most terribly literal sense. We should like to know whether this fiery ordeal, which they just escaped, has worked any change in the spirit of their minds. For, we take it for granted, that the wealthy gentlemen who, from various motives, cast in their lot with Gen. McClellan in company with Seymour, the Woods, the Brookses and obscene fowl of their feather, were hardly willing to have their fine houses in the Fifth Avenue, or in any of the other habitable streets and squares, offered up as a burnt sacrifice to slavery. Monsieur Auguste Belmont, himself, we apprehend, would mildly object to seeing his town-house utterly consumed and his fine pictures shrivelling into ashes as an offering of a sweet savor in the nostrils of Jefferson Davis. Had the rebel emissaries, with the spirit of the Chicago Convention in their hearts and the money of its members and constituents in their pockets—not contributed for this special purpose, we dare say—succeeded in firing the city, the flames would have shown no respect to persons, they would have been diabolically impartial and have devoured up the dwellings and household gods of loyalist and secessionist, of Republican and Copperhead, alike. We should like to know whether or not the fidelity to Southern Rights, the devotion to Slavery as a Divine Institution, the admiration of the chivalrous and generous character fostered by it, which recorded themselves at the polls a month ago so multitudinously, have stood this crucial test and are still ready as ever to prove faith by works? Gov. Seymour's "noble-hearted friends," indeed, would have rejoiced in another opportunity to have their faces—in which Archbishop Hughes could discern no sign of mob-spirit—lighted up again with a cheerful conflagration, and their hands left to obey the impulse of that Charity which seeketh not her own, and gilded with the blood of negroes and Abolitionists. But we imagine that they that had property to be stolen, and houses and household stuff to be burned, must have shuddered at horrors which had so nearly overtaken them, and at the thought of how greatly they, and their like, were responsible for the attempt.

If that fiendish conspiracy, so providentially disappointed of success, shall have had any such improving effect on the Copperhead mind and heart, some good will proceed out of the dire peril which struck such just terror into all the inhabitants of this great city. If the respectable portion of the McClellan party, they that have some stake of property and character at risk, are not so utterly demented and bewitched with the sorceries of slavery that they cannot free themselves from the bleur illusions and false presentments with which she has so long deluded them, they cannot fail to see that this incendiary villany is but the natural and logical sequence of her teachings and her works. A system which teaches that God made a certain portion of his children to be the beasts of burden, and worse than such, of another portion, and set a mark upon their faces as a sign of their condition, and which logically carries out its premises to their legitimate conclusions, must infest the whole nature of those given up to believe these lies. Utter unscrupulousness as to means necessary to effect their ends grows naturally out of such a system. Being, in its own nature, essentially unnatural, it can be effectually carried out only by violent, cruel and abominable measures. Hence the denial to the black man of marriage, of the rights of family, of education, of every incident of human condition which belongs to progress and civilization. Hence cruel whippings, torturings, baiting with bloodhounds, burnings at the stake, hanging without trial, which must all exist if slavery be right. Hence the denial to the white man of free travel through its dominions, *espionage*, arbitrary arrest of travellers on the most infinitessimal grounds of suspicion, and summary execution without the forms even of legal trial. All these things must be, if slavery must. And out of all these things proceeds that hardness of heart and callousness to human suffering where the passions and interests are concerned, and that total disregard of honor and principle which belongs to these evil conditions, from which sprung this devilish plot. So thoroughly debasing is the influence of slavery that the skulking miscreants who were employed to do the horrid work probably thought that they were doing a brave deed in contriving the horrible destruction of a city which gave them shelter and protection, because the wrongs and the interests of slavery called for it!

Frightful as are the mischiefs which slavery works upon the bodies of the blacks, they are light compared with this utter destruction of all moral sense and feeling of the natural humanities which it produces in the souls of the whites polluted by its influences. No sound Commonwealth, no wholesome society, can exist with such souls constituting its basis. The disease is too foul and too deeply seated to be compatible with life and strength. Our whole natural life, since the nation was born seventy-five years ago, has been a struggle with this inhering malady. We "let it feed even on our pith of life," and it was a question when it broke forth in the deadly access of 1861, whether it or we should perish. Happily there was enough of the original strength of constitution left in the Northern States, fostered by the wholesome agitation in which their moral atmosphere was kept, much against their will, for the last thirty years, to enable it to make the desperate struggle—happily desperate no longer—to throw it off and recover its normal health of perfect freedom. If this war should end without ending slavery, too, the violence of the paroxysm will only weaken the constitution of the nation and leave it less able to resist any future attack. But the war cannot end without ending slavery. That is a fact which slaveholders themselves have had forced upon their unwilling consciousness. Maryland, whose hands were wet with the first blood of the war, and Missouri, the nursing mother of the Border Ruffians, have both accepted the fact and made it the basis of a radical reform of their institutions, by the elimination of slavery. The Louisville *Journal*, the organ of Kentucky Copperheadism, admits that slavery is virtually dead and that the question now resolves itself into a simple one of labor or no labor. Kentucky having tied her hands so fast, lest she should by some accident be tempted to do justice, that she cannot approach the subject for five years, the *Journal* recommends a statement of the case formally by the Legislature, so as to make the slaves content to remain and work as of old in the certainty that their emancipation will be completed at the earliest possible moment. At least, this is the sense that remarkable article conveyed to our mind. The question only is how is slavery to be best dispatched, not scotched merely, but killed.

The answer to this question is one which we have often urged as the solution of the whole problem. The way to relieve Kntucky of the entanglement of the green withes with which she has bound herself, to remove out of the way the host of technical difficulties which will otherwise embarrass the final adjustment, after the fighting is done, and to make the conclusion of the whole matter simple and effectual, is to carry through immediately an Amendment to the Constitution removing slavery at once and forever out of its provisions and making it impossible for it ever to intrude into them again. We see that our excellent Washington Correspondent thinks that this cannot be done at this session, though sure to be done at the next. We cannot but hope that the very certainty of this last proposition may make the first one at least probable. We look for help from unexpected quarters. The slaveholders yet in Congress must see that the game of slavery is up, that it is sure to lose, and that the only thing to be done is to wind it up with as little loss as possible. If they do not see this, the War Democrats and the Peace Democrats, if they be wise in their generation, will see it and take the advice of the New York *Herald* so far as not to resist such action, if they be not quite prepared to initiate it. Slavery can never again be the mainspring of our political machine, as it has so long been, even if it should survive the cessation of hostilities. Why, then, should men dirty themselves for nothing? Dirt is not so palatable an article of diet as to be sought after for its own sake. When the repast ceases to be the price of power and office, the gorge of the veriest sycophant of the former time will rise at it. We need not say that the late election has not been without significant examples in this kind. We think that able and far-sighted politicians will see that this disturbing element cannot be too soon removed from the field of politics, so that parties may form themselves anew upon living issues. We think, therefore, that if due diligence be used, we may have the Amendment passed by Congress and ratified by the States within two or three months. Certainly, early in the Spring, if this Congress refuse to do its share of the work, and the President be pleased to call the next Congress together in a special session for this special purpose. No question can then arise should any of the Rebel States ask readmission to the Union, separately. The Constitution under which they must come back forbidding Slavery forever, they must leave their slaves behind them, or rather bring them with them as freemen. There would be no vexed and vexatious points left to be raised by lawyers or politicians as to the claims of slavery when the time of the final Amnesty and Reunion arrives. It would, too, make merciful terms consistent with safety and honor. And it would be the first and all-important step toward the moral regeneration of the people of the slave States, which shall redeem them from that utter depravity which confounds all distinctions of right and wrong and makes the conflagration of a city and the ruin and murder of thousands of its inhabitants seem a meritorious work. It will make it possible to civilize and Christianize them.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT.

ON Friday, April 8, 1864, the U. S. Senate, by a vote of 38 yeas to 6 nays—far more than the Constitutional two-thirds—adopted the following Joint Resolution:

Be it Resolved, By the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, two-thirds of both Houses concurring, that the following article be proposed to the Legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of said Legislatures, shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of the said Constitution, namely:

ART. XIII.—Section 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

Section 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

On the 15th of June the House of Representatives passed upon the resolution, with the following result: Yeas 95—nays 64. A change of 12 votes from the negative to the affirmative would have secured the passage of the resolve by the two-thirds vote made necessary by the Constitution.

Mr. Ashley of Ohio, in order to have power to move a reconsideration, changed his vote from the negative to the affirmative. It will, therefore, be competent for him, under the rules, to move such reconsideration at the present session; and he will do so, no doubt, if it is ascertained upon inquiry that a sufficient number of Democrats to carry the proposition will either vote for it or absent themselves from the House. We are not without hope that a sufficient number of Democrats will heed the verdict of the people as recorded in the late election, and manfully give their votes for the utter extinction of slavery by a process of whose constitutionality they can have no doubt. The Philadelphia *Press*, we see, cherishes the same hope. It says:

"We rejoice in the indication that the Democratic party will take part in the coming Congress to remove its own stumbling-block out of the path of national progress. If the moral form of the question has heretofore worn to them an illegal face, to-day the subject is both moral and legal. A constitutional amendment abolishing slavery will at once dispel the fears and exalt the hopes of the whole country. The disposition among the leading journals of the Democratic party to meet the question with candor encourages expectation that, since the election has sealed a promise of support to the vital measures of the government, the example of the Opposition will be faithful and substantial. Because it is now the most patriotic, the abolition of slavery is the wisest of party measures."

"Occasional," the Washington correspondent of the same paper, says:

"A number of Democrats voted against this joint resolution in the last session with the greatest reluctance. They had so strongly denounced Mr. Lincoln's proclamation of emancipation as illegal and unconstitutional, and so frequently declared that they were willing to assist in any movement that would legally and constitutionally treat the question, that they gave their votes against this essential reform with many self-accusations. I could name several such if it were necessary. When these men now remember that the House of Representatives in the *next* and *new* Congress is already more than two-thirds in favor of this policy, and that, the present House failing to pass this joint resolution by a two-thirds vote, the President may convene the new Congress for the express purpose of completing this most essential legislation, why should not the work be done among the very first things in the approaching meeting of the two Houses? Shall we have the expense of a called Congress to do what the next session can easily consummate? These suggestions ought to weigh on every unprejudiced mind. Reverdy Johnson, of Maryland, saw the unanswerable force of the arguments in favor of this amendment to the Constitution prohibiting slavery when he delivered his great argument in favor of it last Spring, and you will note that the Louisville *Journal*, which, unlike Senator Johnson, opposed the government in its earlier policy, but came into its support when this policy was proved to be practical, now insists that this amendment is right, and should have been enacted at the last session. The Kentucky delegation will undoubtedly see that the *Journal's* arguments are sensible and to the point, and I expect we shall gain some votes from other border States. But it is to the National Democrats in Congress from the free States that I look. Some of these gentlemen did not believe it was possible to make this amendment of the Federal Constitution a practical measure; that it would produce nothing but irritation in the South, and would not be sustained in the North. Admitting that the amendment was constitutional, they yet resisted it upon these objections. But now there is no reasonable pretext for such opposition. May we not hope, then, for the coöperation of most, if not all, of the Democrats in Congress in the speedy passage of this most essential legislation?

The Washington correspondent of Bennett's *Herald*, under date of Monday, says:

"There is a very good prospect that a sufficient number of Democratic members of the House will yield their opposition to the passage of the constitutional amendment abolishing slavery, and permit it to pass by the requisite two-thirds vote. Some of those who opposed it most strongly at the last session have the matter under consideration, and are disposed to heed the teachings of the late election, and no longer seek to avert the final blow to the institution which has brought so much suffering and disaster upon the country."

A Washington telegram in the *Tribune* of Thursday says: "There is a good prospect of the passage through the House of the Constitutional amendment to abolish slavery."

PASSPORTS FOR COLORED PEOPLE.—The following official letter from the State Department will give satisfaction to every lover of liberty and equality:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE—PASSPORT BUREAU,
WASHINGTON, Nov. 29, 1864.

J. B. NONES, *Esq., New York.*

DEAR SIR: Your note of the 28th inst., relative to passports for colored people, came to hand this p.m.

In reply I have to acquaint you that *there is no distinction made in regard to color.* Passports can be obtained by *any one* complying with the regulations.

Yours truly, A. TUNSTELL WELCH,
Passport Clerk.

THANKSGIVING SERMON OF REV. PHILLIPS BROOKS.

PHILADELPHIA, Nov. 27, 1864.

To the Editor of the National Anti Slavery Standard.

So accustomed have we become to the delinquency of the Church concerning popular evils, and the shortcomings of pulpit teachers in relation thereto, that we cannot witness recent examples of bold criticism and denunciation of them without a feeling of surprise mingling with our satisfaction. Circumstances now forbid the bestowal of praise and the acknowledgment of credit for the advocacy of universal freedom, because its popularity has rendered it easy and common; yet, to hear the slave's cause pleaded in quarters hitherto denying its admission, and to hear the social rights of the negro vindicated where they were previously ignored, calls forth in some degree our admiration. But the cause of the slave is not identical with that of the freedman in popular estimation. While a defence of the former is now shorn of its original merit, we may accord to a courageous intercession for the latter our applause. Men now claim that the slave should be free, who have no sympathy for his rights as a freeman. Their concern for his welfare does not extend beyond the removal of the fetters of bondage. He is still the victim of their prejudices, and a sufferer from their tyranny. Hence, when we hear a bold word uttered in his behalf, and especially when we listen to an eloquent and earnest and sincere appeal from the pulpit in his favor as a social being and responsible citizen, we cannot conceal our pleasure, or hide our approbation.

At least one instance of this pleading of the negro's cause in the pulpit occurred here on Thanksgiving day. The walls of other churches on that day may have echoed with tributes of praise to freedom and her record of triumphs, but nowhere was to be found a stauncher advocate of the rights of colored people than in the pulpit of the Holy Trinity. This church is located in a fashionable and wealthy part of our city. The congregation may be designated by the same distinguishing terms. He who ministers to the spiritual concerns of this large and fashionable assembly is a young man whose name your readers are doubtless familiar with—the Rev. Phillips Brooks. He seems to be highly esteemed by the members of his congregation, who recognize his fine intellectual powers and capacities as a preacher, but to what extent they coincide with him in his ultra views regarding the people of color we are unable to say. We understand that Judge Woodward and Ex-Mayor Vaux were formerly members of this Church, but Mr. Brooks became odious to their peculiar tastes, and they forsook him for more congenial fellowship. Others of a feather like unto these pursued a similar course. We have been told that the ex-Mayor was anxious to sell his pew to some colored person, but have not learned that any among us were so wanting in self-respect as to take that particular seat.

On this Thanksgiving occasion all the sitting room of the church was occupied, and many seats temporarily placed in the aisles were filled. Many strangers were present, drawn thither by the preacher's reputation, and those who had gathered there through motives of sympathy for the cause he was known to have espoused, found in his discourse a counterpart of their most radical convictions. It was thoroughly anti-slavery, and emphatically defensive of the colored man in all his relations to society. Of course it was not wholly devoted to matters pertaining to these, but embraced them. The causes for thanksgiving were enumerated, and a nut-shell history of the war was given. But the chief stress, the heartiest emphasis, the principal enthusiasm, and the most ardent seriousness was bestowed upon freedom and its conquests, the black man and his rights—our obligations to one, and our duties to the other. There was forcible and excellent adaptation of language to thought, but no beautifying of the subject to make it acceptable, and no seasoning to render it palatable. Freedom must be universal; the man of color should be treated as a man; our prejudices should be expelled and forgotten; the negro must have a chance, free, fair, untrammeled and unhindered. He would accord him an American's chance. He would not withhold the ballot. Whilst he was proud of Philadelphia's loyalty, he was ashamed of her for closing the door of the street-car against the colored man. His right in this respect would ultimately be granted; why not do it while there was some grace and honor in the act? The negro's position was that which his industry, talents, education, conduct, or achievements conferred.

Such was the spirit of the discourse. The sentiments were expressed without fear and without reserve. The whole sermon rang of the best of metal. The truth was held up to the light, and the audience was placed face to face with its shortcomings—eye to eye with its Christian duty to an oppressed race. We may hope that it was not like sowing seeds amid tares, or casting them among stones.

OSCAR.

GEORGE THOMPSON AT THE WEST.

AT Chicago Mr Thompson spoke four times. Of the first of these addresses we gave a brief account last week; of two others an account will be found on the first page. The fourth was delivered at a meeting of colored people, and was upon the "Black Laws" of Illinois.

At Milwaukee he spoke twice. The first lecture, before the Young Men's Association, Nov. 26th, drew a crowded house. The *Daily Life* says: "The lecture was one of the best which has ever been delivered in this city, and elicited frequent applause. He again lectured on Sunday evening at the Spring Street Congregational Church on the slavery question, and was most enthusiastically listened to and applauded."

He addressed a large assemblage at Elgin, Ill., on Monday evening, Nov. 28th.

On Tuesday evening, Nov. 29th, he spoke to a crowded assembly in the State House in Springfield, Ill. At this place he was the guest of Gov. Yates.

From Springfield Mr. Thompson went to St. Louis, Dec. 1st. Of his labors there we have no information.

In a private note Mr. Thompson says: "My strength has held out remarkably well. The weather here (Springfield, Ill.) is delightful. This must surely be the long-looked for Indian Summer, come at last."

KIND WORDS OF FRIENDS.

[Extracts from letters of subscribers.]

Cedar Falls, Iowa, Nov. 18.—Having returned home after a term of three years in the army, and having removed to this place, I must ask you to change the direction of my paper. Before entering the service I was a subscriber to the STANDARD, and during my absence my wife continued to take it. I cannot do without it. It came to me all the time that I was in the field, being remailed to me by my wife. It was welcome as my rations. It aided in making more than one brave soldier see more clearly the cause of this unholy war, and nerved them to battle for the right. E. H. G.

Martinsville, Ohio, Nov. 20.—I am truly sorry to ask you to stop your most valuable, and, by me, most highly appreciated paper. My husband joined the army as captain of Co. E, 5th Regt. U. S. C. T. I now have the sad pain of telling you that on the 28th of July he fell, mortally wounded, on the front line near Petersburg, picked off by a sharpshooter. He lived nine hours. His precious blood has all flowed out for the sins of this guilty nation, as has that of thousands of others. His fellow-officers bear testimony to his cool bravery under galling fire, and to his generous and manly conduct in every emergency. No better husband ever lived. I have given my idol—all of life that was dear to me—to my country. After he entered the service we bought a farm, but it was not all paid for, and the duty of paying our debts falls upon me, as well as the burden of supporting three little children. I feel that I should wrong my patient creditors by indulging myself in any luxury at present. My interest is none the less in the great cause of our country and of freedom; no, it is greater than ever, though my heart is broken by traitor hands. I hate rebellion, traitors and their allies with as bitter a hate as ever dwelt in woman's heart. I love this noble Union, and have three little ones to give to my country, and I want them to live in a nation of freemen. I am sorry to give up the STANDARD, for its principles I have at heart. With it I have passed many sad and lonely hours. S. A. O.

Boston, Nov. 26.—Your noble paper never stood higher than at present. It is true and admirable, and is doing a great work in this marvellous hour of the Nation's redemption. God bless you all in your faithful labors.

THE PROHIBITION OF SLAVERY.

To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.

YOUR Washington correspondent expressed an opinion, in your last week's paper, in which I trust he will prove mistaken; in which case, I doubt not, he will himself be as much pleased as any other one can be. Referring to the coming session of Congress, he says, "There will be no attempt to pass the Constitutional Amendment, I judge, for it was tried faithfully at the last session, and the two-thirds votes needed are not to be had."

Admitting, for the moment, that everything was done which could have been done at the last session to secure the passage of the Amendment (whereby slavery was to have been prohibited forever in every part of the United States), and allowing that it is the same Congress to which we have now to appeal, for a reconsideration of this mighty question, I by no means concur in "Avon's" conclusion that the "two-thirds votes needed are not to be had." I beg him to reconsider his opinion. I should hardly offset my individual judgment against his, careful and generally accurate as he is; but I happen to know that it is the opinion of many, who are as well qualified to form a correct judgment in the matter as any other persons in the whole country, that the subject *will be* brought up in Congress, at its session this Winter, and with very strong probability of its being carried to a successful issue. At all events, it is not for the friends of the measure to assume it cannot be carried this Winter.

Does "Avon" think that nothing is to be allowed to the effect inevitably wrought upon the minds of legislators by the great popular Verdict of November the eighth? Is not the decision of the People, then given, *that slavery shall die the death*, to be regarded by their Representatives as a very solemn instruction to them how to act? In view of that great popular vote, and of the circumstances in which it was given, Congress, in my judgment, will be censurably wanting in an obvious duty, if it fails to pass this one great measure, upon which more of the future peace, harmony, prosperity, and power of the country is depending than upon any and all other measures now awaiting decision.

And how does the matter stand now? And why should "Avon" say that the "two-thirds votes needed are not to be had"? Let us look at the votes of the last session on this question.

The United States Senate, after a full and thorough discussion of the question, in which the enemies of the measure exhausted every art of logic, politics, etc., to defeat it, came to a vote and it appeared that only *six* names were recorded against it, and 38 votes were given in its favor—far more than the requisite two-thirds. The six pro-slavery votes were given, let us not forget, by *Hendricks* of Indiana, *Powell* and *Garret Davis* of Kentucky, *Riddle* and *Saulsbury* of Delaware, and *McDougall* of California. Indiana and California have sternly rebuked their unworthy Senators, and will doubtless still more pointedly disown them. The Senate then is secure.

The House of Representatives voted upon the proposed Amendment on Monday, June 13th last; and the vote stood, 94 Yeas; 64 Nays—not two-thirds, and so the bill was defeated, yet showing a large majority in its favor. To have carried the measure at that time, 106 votes would have been necessary, requiring the change of 12 votes from the minority to the majority.

For two reasons in particular, I believe that not only those twelve votes may be, but that they will be, had this Winter, and several more in addition.

First, those War Democrats who, early last session, usually acted with the Republicans in support of the Administration, and of the measures necessary for the suppression of the rebellion, but who, as the time of holding the Chicago Convention approached, united themselves with the pseudo-Democracy in the hope that a War Democrat might be nominated by that Convention, have no longer any temptation, or reason, for standing with men who disgraced and doomed themselves, as have the authors of the "Chicago Platform." These War Democrats will make haste to leave such traitorous company, and to range themselves anew with the friends of the country and the supporters of its government. Indeed they have already in great numbers left them, and in the last election gave their support to the reëlection of President Lincoln. Your readers will remember how the Peace Democrat papers have denounced these War Democrats as worse than the extremest Republicans, and read them out of their ranks—a proscription which, in all coming time, will be their great honor. These War Democrats, resuming the loyal and patriotic position they occupied at the beginning of the last session, may be confidently expected to give their united vote for the prohibition of slavery forever in the Republic.

Secondly, I maintain that, as Democrats, and as loyal exponents of the wishes of the people, they cannot avoid voting for the amendment this Winter, however (under party stress) they may have voted last June. The will and determination of the people, that slavery shall be up-rooted and cast away, have been so distinctly and unmistakably expressed, that no choice is left to these men but to support the amendment, or to seal their political overthrow forever, and go down to posterity marked as the super-serviceable and dishonored advocates of slavery, at an hour when the whole land, amidst the acclaims of every friendly people the world over, is calling out for the death of the monster, so long the subtle foe of the nation, now its open and declared worst enemy. So that *necessity*, and (I believe) their own inclination equally, will bring these men to the right side in the present House.

It will be remembered that Mr. Ashley of Ohio moved a reconsideration of the vote, but did not then bring it up for action. It is understood that he will call it up, early in this Winter's session. Let then the House be called upon for its responsive vote, in accordance with the popular demand, and close Congressional action on this beneficent and indispensable measure. The President's approval, it is well known, awaits it. Then let no friend of the measure frame reasons for its postponement. As well postpone the Elixir of life when the patient is hovering between life and death. The pledge of the Baltimore platform only anticipated the decree of the people. Let that decree be executed by their Representatives with a ready and hearty will. S. M.

CHIEF-JUSTICE CHASE.—We have rarely been permitted to record in these columns an event which gave us so much joy as we now feel in announcing the appointment of SALMON P. CHASE as Chief-Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. The elevation to this high place of an Abolitionist, whose record bears no stain of compromise with the Slave Power, is an event which affords an illustration, more striking, perhaps, than any other, of the mighty moral and political revolution which has taken place in our country within the last few years, but whose seeds were planted thirty years ago by the men and women who organized the Anti-Slavery movement. That movement, long derided for its feebleness and "fanaticism," but mighty through God to the pulling down of the strongholds of despotism, has conquered successively every branch of the government—first the Legislative, then the Executive, and now at last, thank God! the Judiciary.

Of Mr. Chase's qualifications for Chief-Justice it is needless to speak, for they are patent to the whole country, and conceded even by his political opponents. In point of ability, learning and integrity, he is a fit successor of Jay, Ellsworth and Marshall, and the soundness of his opinions upon every question relating to slavery warrants the belief that that baneful system will henceforth receive no favors in the chief tribunal of American Justice.

—Mr. Chase arrived in Washington on Tuesday evening, before hearing of his appointment. Upon being officially notified thereof, he addressed a letter of thanks to the President, and afterwards had an interview with him. It will be the duty of Mr. Chase to administer the oath to Mr. Lincoln on the fourth of March.

CONGRESS.—The proceedings of this body on Monday and Tuesday present no feature of great interest or importance. We must refer our readers to other sources for particulars. On Wednesday, Mr. Morgan of New York presented the credentials of the Senators elect from Louisiana. He did not propose that they should be sworn as members, but that their credentials should be referred to the Judiciary Committee. A formidable protest against their admission from citizens of Louisiana has been forwarded. The Judiciary Committee are understood to be averse to the admission of any portions of States which have been in rebellion against the government.

PERSONAL.

Brig.-Gen. Neal Dow has resigned—reason not stated.

Lord Lyons, on account of ill health, is about to return to England. He will not come back for some time, perhaps not at all.

Wendell Phillips Garrison will deliver a lecture at Spring Garden Institute, in Philadelphia, on Wednesday evening next. Subject: "The New Corner-Stone."

Prof. Goldwin Smith has been in town for some days, the guest of Hon. George Bancroft. On Tuesday evening he read a paper before the New York Historical Society on the "History of Oxford University." He will sail for England on Wednesday next.

Anna E. Dickinson arrived in New York on Monday evening, and departed the next morning for the West, where she will spend several weeks in fulfilling engagements for lectures. She will probably speak again in New York early in March.

The Newark *Advertiser* states that it learns upon inquiry at the office in that city of the Morris and Essex Railroad, that the *Herald's* story that Gen McClellan had been appointed Engineer-in-Chief of that road, with a salary of $25,000 per annum, is entirely without foundation.

Theodore Tilton delivered a lecture in Concert Hall, Philadelphia, on the 29th ult., to a large audience. The *Press* says the eloquent words of the lecturer were very attentively listened to and frequently applauded as his sentiments struck a sympathetic chord in the breasts of his auditors.

James Speed, of Kentucky, the new Attorney-General of the United States (appointed to succeed Mr. Bates), is an able lawyer, and has not been a very active politician. In 1849, when an effort was made to provide in the Constitution for the abolition of slavery in Kentucky, he was an Emancipationist. Three years ago he freed all his slaves, and openly committed himself to the policy of Emancipation.

Among the most diligent, useful and earnest public laborers in the anti-slavery cause, for many years past has been Aaron M. Powell. His numerous friends among the readers of the STANDARD will be interested in learning that he has withdrawn from the lecturing field (mainly on account of the somewhat delicate state of his lungs), and opened a Fruit-store in Brooklyn, under most encouraging auspices. His new business is already having a favorable effect upon his health.

The Richmond *Whig* of Nov. 30 says: "Among the guests of the Spottswood Hotel, in this city, is George D. Prentice, Esq., the widely-known editor of the Louisville *Journal*. He comes by permission of the authorities on both sides to visit his son, a gallant young soldier in the Confederate service." The object of Mr. Prentice's visit is to intercede with Jeff. Davis for the pardon of his son, who is in Hood's army and under sentence of death for murder. The President, in granting Mr. P. a pass, "heaped coals of fire upon the head" of a man who has grossly abused him.

The members of the Bar of the U. S. Supreme Court held a meeting in the Court-room at the Capitol on Tuesday, and adopted resolutions filled with fulsome praise of ex-Chief-Justice Taney, apparently unconscious that the Dred Scott decision had made his name forever infamous. The friends of impartial justice appear to have stood aside and left to the "old fogies" their coveted privilege of eulogizing the deceased Judge. Among those who spoke on the occasion was Charles O'Conor of New York, a champion to this day of slavery and the slave trade, and a Secessionist at heart!

The Boston *Transcript* says that Millmore, a young sculptor of more than common promise in his art, has just finished a most admirable bust of Senator Sumner. The artist has succeeded in representing the essential spirit of his subject, as he will be recognized historically, when seen by those sufficiently removed by distance to do justice to his power and his aims. Courage and dignity, tempered by the humanity of a large and commanding nature, are expressed with great fidelity. The editor of the *Liberator* endorses the opinion of the *Transcript*.

Maj-Gen. Banks, according to the Washington correspondent of the *Times*, has received his orders and instructions from the President with reference to the military and civil government of the Department of the Gulf, and will return to New-Orleans forthwith and resume command of that department, and will carry out to its completion the policy of the government, which he so ably inaugurated in bringing Louisiana back into the Union as a free State. The General will leave this city in a few days, his delay being wholly caused by official matters.

The Roxbury (Mass.) *Journal* of last week says:

"The Rev. Charles G. Ames, of Albany, gave the Fraternity lecture of this week, and it was one of the best thus far in the course. Mr. Ames is a vigorous thinker, and expresses his ideas in strong, clear and epigrammatic sentences. His style is simple, fresh and racy, with veins of humor running through it. Few lecturers give us more weighty thought in a certain number of words, or rise to a loftier moral utterance. In the lecture of last Tuesday evening, with keen and searching analysis, he brought before his hearers many of the leading characteristics of American society, and sent home to the conscience the obligation of citizenship. The lecture was eminently fitted to excite the higher moral aspirations. Such being its drift, the wish arose when he had closed that every young man in the country could hear these noble words."

The following letter from President Lincoln to a poor widow in Boston explains itself:

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, Nov. 21, 1864.

DEAR MADAM: I have been shown in the files of the War Department a statement of the Adjutant-General of Massachusetts, that you are the mother of five sons who have died gloriously on the field of battle. I feel how weak and fruitless must be any words of mine, which should attempt to beguile you from the grief of a loss so overwhelming; but I cannot refrain from tendering to you the consolation that may be found in the thanks of the Republic they died to save. I pray that our Heavenly Father may assuage the anguish of your bereavement, and leave you only the cherished memory of the loved and lost, and the solemn pride that must be yours, to have laid so costly a sacrifice upon the altar of Freedom. Yours, very sincerely and respectfully,

A. LINCOLN.

To Mrs. Bixby, Boston, Mass.

A sixth son of Mrs. Bixby, wounded in a recent battle, is now lying in the Hospital at Readville, Mass.

Poor Winthrop! To what a depth of political infamy he has consigned himself! The Springfield *Republican* pertinently says:

"The unanimous Republican vote of Marshfield, the manly conduct of leading Democrats, the precept and practice of Mr. Webster's illustrious pupil and biographer (Everett), the seventy-five thousand majority of Massachusetts are a verdict, which may well tinge Mr. Winthrop's cheek with shame. For the last time in *his* history has he been associated with the national statesmen of New England. He has shelved himself forever. The people demand of those who assume to be their leaders, *some* sagacity, to counterbalance selfishness and vanity. If these weaknesses do not find their full vent in stereotyped allusions to ancestry and honors past—forever past; if these vices so master a distrusted and shelved politician as to lead him into base associations and wild imaginings, the people do not forgive him. They resolutely forget him, or nail him to the cross of history, penitent though he be..... Mr. Winthrop has made his record too late in life to amend it......It is most unfortunate for him that the election compels him to remain where he is fully understood. New England comprehends his deficiency in patriotism, moral gallantry and political prescience. A rash and insolent mistake is never pardoned to timidity. He must descend to oblivion, or be embalmed with the odors of forgery, treason and assassination which have made the 'peace party of Chicago' infamous; a consul of Austria his last manager and whipper-in; his last public judgment of 'the sense of the American people,' shared morally by Rynders, intellectually by Lunt! New England has given her verdict. Mr. Winthrop, by a radical delinquency of head and heart, has failed her in the agony of her glory, and she bars to him her places of honor and trust forever."

Mr. Tilton, the Editor of the *Independent*, pays the following appropriate and heartfelt tribute to the beloved and venerated friend whose decease was recorded in our columns last week:

"Thomas Whitson, the venerable Pennsylvania Quaker, who died last week, aged 69, was one of those remarkable men who are occasionally met with in private life, unknown by wide reputation, yet nevertheless recognized by all who know them as ranking among the good and great. One of the original members of the American Anti-Slavery Society, he remained one of its pillars till his death—always a staunch, clear-sighted, and useful advocate of Emancipation. His character, appearance, manners, methods of thought and speech, in a word, his whole personality, if truly described, would appear like some fancy sketch of a novelist—such a personage as Dickens or Thackeray would have set in a book. How can we ever forget his stalwart frame—his massive head, bent on one side, as if with over-weight of intellect—his merry, twinkling eyes, and constant smile—his immemorial white hat—his admirable awkwardness of gait—his entertaining offences against the King's English—his wit and drollery—his pith of sense in every word he uttered—and, above all, his pure delight in the social circle and the 'Friends' meeting.' Unique, eccentric, and attractive, he was everywhere a favorite, both in public and private. In debate, we have heard him floor an antagonist amid such general merriment that even the beaten wrestler would laugh and enjoy it. And some of 'Uncle Thomas's' speeches, when in his best mood, were as delicious and memorable as we have ever heard from more famous lips. Always rough ore, unsmelted, they were nevertheless veined with pure gold. Such a good man's life and death are a gain to the world—showing the best fruits fully ripened, of the Christian morality of the age. If ever a human being might be called without guile—if ever a human life above reproach—if ever a human bosom over-full of Christian charity—such is the tribute due to this rich-minded, sweet-tempered, noble old man, over whose grave a hallowed memory now remains for his monument!"

Our Washington Correspondence.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 4th, 1864.

ALTHOUGH Congress meets to-morrow and many members are here—a majority of both Houses—yet I cannot write upon it or its doings. There will be a flood of news *next* week, but there is very little now. The most interesting subject of conversation just now is that of the Chief-Justiceship. Who will Mr. Lincoln nominate as Chief-Justice? From many things I have recently heard, I fear that he has no intention to send in the name of Mr. Chase to the Senate. The members of Congress coming in are quite strongly in favor of Mr. Chase's nomination—the most of them, I mean. But it must not be supposed that every Senator who *talks* in favor of Mr. Chase at the hotels and in social circles, when he comes to confer confidentially with Mr. Lincoln advises him to choose the distinguished citizen of Ohio for Chief-Justice. Men are selfish and sectional. A New Englander could be pardoned, perhaps, if he were to urge the claims of a distinguished New England Judge for the place. It is a little singular that three prominent citizens of Massachusetts have been here urging the nomination of men who are not from New England for the Chief Justiceship. Gov. Andrew has spoken warm, urgent words for Mr. Chase, and Judge Hoar and Mr. Dana (of Boston) have made a plea for Mr. Evarts.

Eaves-droppers have been at work upon Mr. Lincoln all the Fall, repeating remarks of Mr. Chase respecting the Administration, and especially Mr. Lincoln, when he was at Newport last Summer. These stories may all be false, but I think that the President believes them to be true. He thinks that Mr. Chase has continually spoken of him in a contemptuous manner, and that, such being the case, nobody can expect him to nominate Mr. Chase to any place. Here is his blunder. Even if it were true, as alleged, that Mr. Chase has expressed the opinion that Mr. Lincoln is a weak and irresolute man, the latter would show a noble magnanimity if he were to overlook all such personal considerations and prejudices and nominate one of the greatest men in the country as Chief-Justice. There is likely to be a lively debate on the subject in the Senate, if the President should send in the name of a small man for the place. It is better, perhaps, to wait for the result before making any comments.

There are continued rumors of Cabinet changes. Mr. Bates is out, and the Attorney-Generalship has been offered to Mr. Holt. He declined the honor, very promptly. Mr. Lincoln desires to have a man in his Cabinet from one of the border States. He will not touch one of the Missouri Radicals, and I can't say that anybody blames him for that. A Missouri Conservative he is equally averse to inviting into his Cabinet. What he will do remains to be seen. Mr. Fessenden will probably remain in the Cabinet till the 4th of March. It has been intimated that Mr. Welles thinks of retiring during the holidays, but I do not know that the rumor has any foundation.

Strange as it may seem, it is nevertheless true, that Montgomery Blair's friends are urging Mr. Lincoln to give him a place upon the Supreme Bench—not as Chief-Justice, but to take the place of one of the Justices, now on the Bench, who is to be promoted (if this plan works) to the Chief-Justiceship. It would be a singular event if Mr. Chase should be passed by and Mr. Blair should gain the prize. Such an event, however, is scarcely possible.

The case of the Florida is giving the Administration a good deal of trouble. I adhere to a previously-expressed opinion, that Mr. Seward will not justify her capture in his correspondence with the Brazilian government. Mr. Sumner's able article in the Boston *Advertiser* undoubtedly estops England from all interference, but our own policy and international law cannot be trampled under foot because England has committed outrages in the past. Mr. Sumner, by the way, has arrived, and is at his post. You are aware that so bold a statesman as he is always has enemies, but he means well. He is growing in reputation every year, and there are many of his political enemies who readily admit that he is one of a very few *great* men in the Senate. He would make a most admirable Secretary of State were Mr. Seward bent upon going abroad, as has been rumored. But he cannot be spared from the Senate, and should remain there where his finest triumphs have been achieved. He is one of three or four men in the country whose names will be familiar two centuries hence. I suppose that he has his budget of legislative matter ready to lay before the Senate. He never forgets the welfare of the black man—not even after he has been emancipated. He watches the welfare of the freedman, in and out of season, and frequently to the vexation of selfish, time-serving politicians.

The *Chronicle* of this city contains an original letter from Mr. Cobden of an interesting character. It has reference to the financial resources and strength of the country. The *Chronicle* makes it a text for some remarks upon the effect of the war upon certain sections of the country. The subjoined paragraph is interesting:

"The disloyal and the border States alone have suffered—the border States comparatively little, the disloyal States very heavily. Yet Maryland, Kentucky, and much of Missouri have enjoyed many conditions of prosperity, resulting from stimulated business and increased prices. The great cities near and within this border have gained in business and in population greatly since 1860. Philadelphia has gained very largely in both, having now, if the proportion of voters to the entire population may be taken as a test, not less than 700,000 inhabitants, with an unprecedentedly active and prosperous business. Baltimore, though gaining less, has sustained its position fully, and had never a better trade than it has at the close of 1864. Washington has nearly doubled its population since 1860, and is fast advancing to a metropolitan position. Cincinnati has a trade in 1864 exceeding the greatest in any former year, and its population has increased in a proportion equal to that of previous periods. Chicago is shown, by a census just taken, to have gained more rapidly since 1860 than in the three years preceding that date. St. Louis and Louisville have felt the war more severely, and have undoubtedly lost ground relatively, yet not in any marked degree, or so far as to discourage their people from the general activity which firm prices and an active demand will cause, even in the midst of danger."

Washington has grown wealthy out of the war, and no class of its citizens have made more money than the very Secessionists who have been protesting against the war. While crying for peace, they have profited by the war, and I dare say most of them secretly desire it to continue for some time to come. The prosperity of this District is not surprising during the war, but its fate after the war is over is a little doubtful. Property is astonishingly high here now, yet men are investing in it to hold after peace comes. However, property is not so high in proportion as rents, and any man buying real estate to-day can get back half his purchase-money in two years. It is not an uncommon thing for a house costing six thousand dollars to rent for two thousand a year! Such facts are driving men of moderate means from the Capital. They cannot live here. When the war is over, and the country returns to a specie currency, the reign of high prices must be broken here if the city would permanently prosper.

I suppose Congress will bestow a little more legislation upon the District. The rights of colored people should be guarded jealously, and it would not be amiss to protect the white inhabitants from the knaveries of the City Government. The city is governed by a set

of selfish politicians, who spend thousands upon their favorites and very little upon improvements within the limits of the town. AVON.

THE THIRTY-FIRST NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY SUBSCRIPTION ANNIVERSARY.

THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY was organized for the immediate and total abolition of slavery in the United States. Its labors have been unremittedly prosecuted, "without compromise and without concealment," for a period of thirty years, through lecturing agencies, the printing and circulating of anti-slavery publications, the support of an official weekly organ, and other instrumentalities; and to these labors is largely due, primarily, that cheering and marvellous change in public sentiment, in opposition to slavery and in support of free institutions, which has taken place in all the loyal States, and which enables the government to maintain successfully its tremendous conflict with the Southern SLAVEHOLDERS' REBELLION. But slavery is not yet abolished, even in the Rebel States, except by the proclamation of President Lincoln; and it still holds a tenacious existence even in some of the so-called loyal sections of the country. Not until its utter extirpation everywhere should the American Anti-Slavery Society be disbanded, or regard its mission as consummated, or be left without the necessary pecuniary aid to carry on its ordinary operations. Its time to dissolve will be when liberty is proclaimed throughout all the land to all the inhabitants thereof, by the proposed amendment of the Constitution of the United States, making it illegal to enslave any person on the American soil. That grand and glorious event, it is confidently hoped and believed, will take place during the coming year, inasmuch as the potential sentiment of the people in regard to it was indicated by an overwhelming majority at the late Presidential election, and inasmuch as President Lincoln, in his annual message to Congress, urges this constitutional amendment upon that body for speedy adoption. Thank God that the year 1865 is, in all probability, to be the long desired YEAR OF JUBILEE!

Once more, then—and we trust for the last time—let the treasury of the American Anti-Slavery Society be replenished by the generous donations and contributions of those who have so long given it their countenance; and also of those who, regenerated in their views and feelings on the question of slavery, have yet to show their appreciation of the invaluable labors of the Society in disseminating light and knowledge, quickening conscience, elevating the moral standard of individual and national conduct, and vindicating the rights of human nature on the broad platform of universal freedom and equality. From all loyal men and women the Society is especially deserving of consideration and coöperative support for its prompt and uncompromising hostility to the rebellion, and to whatever at the North has been in sympathy with the rebels; and for the strong moral support and hearty sympathy it has given to the government in its long and bloody conflict with the Slave Power.

The Managers of the SUBSCRIPTION ANNIVERSARY hereby announce that they will be ready to receive, with all thankfulness, whatever the patriotic, throughout the land, at home or abroad, whatever the philanthropic, the liberal-minded, may feel disposed to contribute, at its annual gathering at Boston, on WEDNESDAY evening, January 25th, 1865; and to this convocation of the friends of impartial liberty they cordially invite all who desire to aid in breaking every yoke, and setting every captive free. And may the result abundantly meet the necessities of an association, whose crown of glory is its unswerving fidelity, through years of conflict and martyrdom, to the "self-evident truths" enunciated in the Declaration of American Independence!

Where personal attendance is impracticable or inconvenient, donations may be sent to either of the undersigned, or to WILLIAM I. BOWDITCH, Esq., 8 Railroad Exchange, Boston, Treasurer of the American Anti-Slavery Society. All such will be duly acknowledged and faithfully expended.

L. Maria Child,	Caroline M. Severance,
Mary May,	Elizabeth Gay,
Louisa Loring,	Mary Willey,
Henrietta Sargent,	Ann Rebecca Bramhall,
Helen Eliza Garrison,	Sarah J. Nowell,
Sarah Shaw Russell,	Elizabeth von Arnim,
Sarah Russell May,	Abby H. Stephenson,
Anna Shaw Greene,	Eliza Apthorp,
Sarah Blake Shaw,	Sarah Cowing,
Caroline C. Thayer,	Sarah H. Southwick,
Lydia D. Parker,	Mary Elizabeth Sargent,
Caroline R. Putnam,	Sarah C. Atkinson,
Mattie Griffith,	Abby Francis,
Mary Jackson,	Georgina Otis,
Evelina A. Smith,	Katharine Earle Farnum,
Sarah Bradford,	Rebecca Bradford,

Ellen Wright Garrison.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT.

SEND IN THE PETITIONS!

THE members of the House of Representatives who desire to effect the passage through that body of the Joint Resolution—already adopted by the Senate—submitting to the States an Amendment to the Constitution for the prohibition of slavery, will, we are sure, be glad to receive and present petitions from the people in aid of that object. Such petitions, if numerously signed and promptly forwarded, may perhaps prove the very weights to turn the scale in favor of Justice and Liberty.

We are requested to state that blank forms of petitions for this object may be obtained at the Anti-Slavery Office in Philadelphia. We have no such forms in this office, but print the following, which any reader can copy in five minutes:

To the U. S. House of Representatives:

The undersigned, citizens of ———, respectfully but very earnestly entreat you to pass the Joint Resolution, adopted by the Senate on the 8th of April, 1864, proposing to the Legislatures of the several States an Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, providing that slavery shall not exist in the country, and that Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

AID FOR THE SCHOOLS IN ALEXANDRIA.

BOSTON, December 4, 1864.

MY DEAR MR. JOHNSON: I am glad to tell you that your notice of the want of maps and black-boards for the school in Alexandria, has brought me several pleasant letters with money enclosed. Please acknowledge the following sums in the next STANDARD:

Adeline May, Leicester, Mass.	$5 00
Fanny Clapp, " "	0 50
Jean, Katy, and Fred. Hallowell, Philadelphia	0 45
Mr. O. P. Whitney, 122 West street, N. Y.	1 00
Mrs. John Spooner, Nashville, Ky.	1 00
Mrs. Jane Sill, Philadelphia	5 00
Miss Frothingham, Montreal, Canada	5 70
Mrs. Charles Goddard, Winchester, Mass.	1 00
Mrs. Mary May, Boston	3 00
	$22 65

I shall get, at Mrs. Jacobs's request, a large map of the United States and four black-boards, and forward them, with other school-furniture, to her immediately.

Yours very truly, SARAH R. MAY.

THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE is a plain, unpretending paper, containing a brief synopsis of the operations of the government, in its various departments, during the last year, and treating the vital questions of the war with a frankness and firmness that cannot fail to give great satisfaction to the friends of liberty. On the question of slavery the President not only takes no step backward, but meets the just expectations of his friends in recommending to Congress the passage of the Joint Resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution, by which it may be made forever a crime to enslave a human being under the American flag. "I retract nothing," says the President, "heretofore said as to slavery. I repeat the declaration made a year ago that, while I remain in my present position, I shall not attempt to retract or modify the Emancipation Proclamation. *Nor shall I return to slavery any person who is free by the terms of that Proclamation, or by any of the acts of Congress.* IF THE PEOPLE SHOULD, BY WHATEVER MODE OR MEANS, MAKE IT AN EXECUTIVE DUTY TO RE-ENSLAVE SUCH PERSONS, ANOTHER, AND NOT I, MUST BE THEIR INSTRUMENT TO PERFORM IT." Let us thank God that we have lived to hear words so simply eloquent and so instinct with the very life of freedom from the lips of a President of the United States.

PLEDGES made to the *American* or the *Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Societies* are now payable; and it is earnestly requested of all who may be owing such to forward the amount of their pledges, without delay, to the Treasurers of these Societies respectively, or to Samuel May, Jr., 221 Washington Street, Boston.

SOJOURNER TRUTH'S account of her interview with the President, though in type, must be deferred till next week.

THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

THE Annual Message of the President was read in the two Houses of Congress on Tuesday at 1 o'clock, and immediately telegraphed to the press throughout the country. It is much briefer than such papers usually are, but we cannot conveniently print it in full, and must content ourselves with copying the passages most intimately connected with the great issues of the war, and giving a brief abstract of other portions.

The President opens with an expression of gratitude to Almighty God for the blessings of health and abundant harvests, and then proceeds to speak of the Foreign Relations of the country, which he says are in a reasonably satisfactory condition. We have strictly maintained a position of neutrality between the belligerents in Mexico. The difficulties in regard to the Nicaragua inter-oceanic transit route have been amicably adjusted, and there is reason to hope that the route will soon be reopened to travel.

LIBERIA.

Official correspondence has been freely opened with Liberia, and it gives us a pleasing view of social and political progress in that Republic. It may be expected to derive new vigor from American influence, improved by the rapid disappearance of slavery in the United States. I solicit your authority to furnish to the Republic a gunboat at a moderate cost, to be reimbursed to the United States by instalment. Such a vessel is needed for the safety of that State against the native African races, and in Liberian hands it would be more effective in arresting the African slave trade than a squadron in our own hands. The possession of the least organized naval force would stimulate a generous ambition in the Republic, and the confidence which we should manifest by furnishing it would win forbearance and favor towards the colony from all civilized nations.

THE ARGUELLES CASE.

For myself, I have no doubt of the power and duty of the Executive under the law of nations to exclude enemies of the human race from an asylum in the United States. If Congress should think that proceedings in such cases lack the authority of law, or ought to be further regulated by it, I recommend that provision be made for effectually preventing foreign slave-traders from acquiring domicile and facilities for their criminal occupation in our country.

BRAZIL—ENGLAND—CANADA.

Unforeseen political difficulties have arisen, especially in Brazilian and British ports, and on the northern boundary of the United States, which have required, and are likely to continue to require, the practice of constant vigilance, and a just and conciliatory spirit on the part of the United States, as well as of the nations concerned, and their governments.

In view of the insecurity of life in the region adjacent to the Canadian border by recent assaults and depredations committed by inimical and desperate persons who are harbored there, it has been thought proper to give notice that after the expiration of six months, the period conditionally stipulated in the existing arrangements with Great Britain, the United States must hold themselves at liberty to increase their naval armament upon the lakes, if they shall find that proceeding necessary.

The condition of the border will necessarily come into consideration in connection with the question of continuing or modifying the rights of transit from Canada through the United States, as well as the regulation of imposts which were temporarily established by the Reciprocity Treaty of the 5th of June, 1854.

I desire, however, to be understood, while making this statement, that the colonial authorities are not deemed to be intentionally unjust or unfriendly towards the United States, but on the contrary there is every reason to expect that, with the approval of the Imperial government, they will take the necessary measures to prevent new incursions across the border.

The Financial affairs of the country have been successfully administered. The public debt on the first day of July last, as appears by the books of the Treasury, amounted to seventeen hundred and forty thousand million, six hundred and ninety thousand, four hundred and eighty-nine dollars and forty-nine cents. Probably, should the war continue for another year, the amount may be increased by not far from five hundred million.

The President recommends an increase of taxation, and in order to distribute the property in the national debt as extensively as possible among the people, he suggests whether it might not be both expedient and competent for Congress to provide that a limited amount of some future issue of public securities might be held by any *bona fide* purchaser exempt from taxation and from seizure for debt, under such restrictions and limitations as might be necessary to guard against abuse of so important a privilege. This would enable prudent persons to set aside a small annuity against a possible day of want. Privileges like these would render the possession of such securities to the amount limited most desirable to every person of small means who might be able to save enough for the purpose.

The National Banking system is highly commended, and the President expresses the hope that very soon there will be in the United States no banks of issue not authorized by Congress, and no bank-note circulation not secured by the government.

The Reports of the Secretaries of the War and Navy departments are commended to the attention of Congress. The general exhibit of the Navy, including vessels under construction on the 1st of December, 1864, shows a total of 671 vessels, carrying 4,610 guns and 510,396 tons, being an actual increase during the year, over and above all losses by shipwreck or in battle, of 83 vessels, 167 guns, and 42,427 tons. The total number of men at this time in the Naval service, including officers, is about 51,000. There have been captured by the Navy during the past year 324 vessels, and the whole number of Naval captures since hostilities commenced is 1,397, of which 267 are steamers. The gross proceeds arising from the sale of condemned prize property thus far reported amounts to $14,396,250 51.

The postal revenues for the year ending June 30, 1864, amounted to $12,438,253 78, and the expenditures to $12,644,786 20; the excess of expenditures over receipts being $206,652 42.

The admission of the new State of Nevada to the Union, the condition of the Territories, the Pacific Railroad and Telegraph, the Department of the Interior, Pensions, the District of Columbia, and the Agricultural Department are each briefly alluded to.

SUCCESSFUL PROSECUTION OF THE WAR.

The war continues. Since the last annual message all the important lines and positions then occupied by our forces have been maintained and our armies have steadily advanced, thus liberating the regions left in the rear, so that Missouri, Kentucky, Tennessee and parts of other States have again produced reasonably fair crops.

SHERMAN'S MARCH IN GEORGIA.

The most remarkable feature in the military operations of the year is Gen. Sherman's attempted march of three hundred miles directly through the insurgent region. It tends to show a great increase of our relative strength that our General-in-Chief should feel able to confront and hold in check every active force of the enemy, and yet to detach a well appointed large army to move on such an expedition. The result not yet being known, conjecture in regard to it is not here indulged.

RECONSTRUCTION IN ARKANSAS AND LOUISIANA.

Important movements have also occurred during the year to the effect of moulding society for durability in the Union. Although short of complete success, it is much in the right direction that twelve thousand citizens in each of the States of Arkansas and Louisiana have organized loyal State governments with free Constitutions, and are earnestly struggling to maintain and administer them.

The movements in the same direction—more extensive though less definite—in Missouri, Kentucky and Tennessee, should not be overlooked.

FREE MARYLAND.

But Maryland presents the example of complete success. Maryland is secure to Liberty and Union for all the future. The genius of rebellion will no more claim Maryland. Like another foul spirit, being driven out it may seek to tear her, but it will woo her no more.

THE ANTI SLAVERY CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT RECOMMENDED.

At the last session of Congress, a proposed amendment of the Constitution, abolishing slavery throughout the United States, passed the Senate, but failed for lack of the requisite two-thirds vote in the House of Representatives. Although the present is the same Congress, and nearly the same members, and without questioning the wisdom or patriotism of those who stood in opposition, I venture to recommend the reconsideration and passage of the measure at the present session. Of course, the abstract question is not changed, but an intervening election shows almost certainly that the next Congress will pass the measure if this does not. Hence there is only a question of time as to when the proposed amendment will go to the States for their action, and as it is to go at all events, may we not agree that the sooner the better?

It is not claimed that the election has imposed a duty on members to change their views or their votes any further than, as an additional element to be considered, their judgment may be affected by it. It is the voice of the people, now for the first time heard upon the question. In a great national crisis like ours unanimity of action among those seeking a common end is very desirable, almost indispensable; and yet no approach to such unanimity is attainable unless some deference shall be paid to the will of the majority, simply because it is the will of the majority. In this case the common end is the maintenance of the Union, and among the means to secure that end, such will, through the election, is most clearly declared in favor of such constitutional amendment.

THE PURPOSE OF THE PEOPLE.

The most reliable indication of public purpose in this country is derived through our popular elections. Judging by the recent canvass and its results, the purpose of the people within the loyal States to maintain the integrity of the Union was never more firm nor more nearly unanimous than now.

The extraordinary calmness and good order with which the million of voters met and mingled at the polls give strong assurance of this. Not only all those who supported the "Union ticket" (so called), but a great majority of the opposing party also, may be fairly claimed to entertain and to be actuated by the same purpose. It is an unanswerable argument to this effect that no candidate for any office whatever, high or low, has ventured to seek votes on the avowal that he was for giving up the Union. There has been much impugning of motives and much heated controversy as to the proper means and best mode of advancing the Union cause, but on the distinct issue of Union or no Union, the politicians have shown their instinctive knowledge that there is no diversity among the people. In affording the people the fair opportunity of showing one to another and to the world their firmness and unanimity of purpose, the election has been of vast value to the national cause.

NO EXHAUSTION OF MEN OR MEANS.

The election has exhibited another fact not less valuable to be known, the fact that we do not approach exhaustion in the most important branch of the national resources—that of living men. While it is melancholy to reflect that the war has filled so many graves and carried mourning to so many hearts, it is some relief to know that, compared with the surviving, the fallen have been so few. While corps and divisions and brigades and regiments have formed and fought and dwindled and gone out of existence, a great majority of the men who composed them are still living. The same is true of the naval service. The election returns prove this. So many voters could not else be found.

The States regularly holding elections, both now and four years ago, to wit: California, Connecticut, Delaware, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kentucky, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Vermont, West Virginia, and Wisconsin, cast 3,982,011 votes now, against 3,870,222 cast then, showing an aggregate now of 3,982,011, to which is to be added 33,762 cast now in the new States of Kansas and Nevada, which States did not vote in 1860; thus swelling the aggregate to 4,015,773, and the net increase during the three years and a half of war, to 145,751. A table is appended showing particulars. To this again should be added the number of all soldiers in the field, from Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New Jersey, Delaware, Indiana, Illinois and California, who, by the laws of these States, could not vote away from their homes, and which number cannot be less than 90,000. Nor yet is this all. The number in organized territories is triple now what it was four years ago—while thousands, white and black, join us as the National arms press back the insurgent lines. So much is shown affirmatively and negatively by the election. It is not material to inquire how the increase has been produced, or to show that it would have been greater but for the war, which is probably true. The important fact remains demonstrated that we have more men now than we had when the war began; that we are not exhausted nor in process of exhaustion; that we are gaining strength, and may, if need be, maintain the contest indefinitely. This as to men. Material resources are now more complete and abundant than ever. The national resources are unexhausted, and, as we believe, inexhaustible. The public purpose to reëstablish and maintain the National authority is unchanged, and, as we believe, unchangeable. The manner of continuing the effort remains to choose.

NO PEACE NEGOTIATIONS.

On careful consideration of all the evidence accessible, it seems to me that no attempt at negotiation with the insurgent leader could result in any good. He would accept of nothing short of the severance of the Union. His declarations to this effect are explicit and oft-repeated. He does not attempt to deceive us. He affords us no excuse to deceive ourselves. We cannot voluntarily yield it. Between him and us the issue is distinct, simple and inflexible. It is an issue which can only be tried by war and decided by victory. If we yield we are beaten. If the Southern people fail him, he is beaten. Either way it would be the victory and defeat following war.

HOW PEACE MAY COME.

What is true, however, of him who heads the insurgent cause, is not necessarily true of those who follow. Although he cannot reaccept the Union, they can. Some of them, we know, already desire peace and reunion. The number of such may increase. *They can at any moment have peace, simply by laying down their arms and submitting to the National authority under the Constitution.* After so much the government could not, if it would, maintain war against them. The loyal people would not sustain or allow it. If questions should remain, we would adjust them by the peaceful means of legislation, conference, courts and votes. Operating only in constitutional and lawful channels, some certain and other possible questions are and would be beyond the Executive power to adjust, as, for instance, the admission of members into Congress, and whatever might require the appropriation of money.

PARDONS AND AMNESTY.

The Executive power itself would be greatly diminished by the cessation of actual war. Pardons and remissions of forfeiture, however, would still be within Executive control. In what spirit and temper this control would be exercised can be fairly judged of by the past. A year ago general pardon and amnesty, upon specified terms, were offered to all except certain designated classes, and it was at the same time made known that the excepted classes were still within contemplation of special clemency. During the year many availed themselves of the general provision, and many more would, only that the signs of bad faith in some led to such precautionary measures as rendered the practical process less easy and certain. During the same time, also, special pardons have been granted to individuals of excepted classes, and no voluntary application has been denied. Thus practically the door has been for a full year open to all, except such as were not in condition to make free choice, that is, such as were in custody or under constraint. It is still so open to all, but the time may come, probably will come, when public duty shall demand that it be closed, and that in lieu more vigorous measures than heretofore shall be adopted.

THE PRESIDENT'S POLICY.

In presenting the abandonment of armed resistance to the National government on the part of the insurgents, as the only indispensable condition to ending the war on the part of the government, *I retract nothing heretofore said as to slavery. I repeat the declaration made a year ago, that while I remain in my present position, I shall not attempt to retract or modify the Emancipation Proclamation. Nor shall I return to slavery any person who is free by the terms of that proclamation, or by any of the acts of Congress.* If the people should, by whatever mode or means, make it an Executive duty to reënslave such persons, *another, and not I, must be their instrument to perform it.* In stating a single condition of peace, I mean simply to say, that the war will cease on the part of the government, whenever it shall have ceased on the part of those who began it.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

JOSEPH BARKER.—More than a month ago we saw in an English journal (we think it was the London *Daily News*) an announcement that Joseph Barker had been appointed by the secession sympathizers in England to be the bearer of their Peace Address to the United States. The paragraph to which we allude, as we happen to know, attracted the attention also of others, and was by them made a subject of remark. When, therefore, we saw the telegrams announcing that the address had been presented to the President by Joseph *Parker*, we inferred that a mistake had been made in the name, and that the agent referred to was none other than the one whose appointment we had seen in an English paper. Private information, subsequently received, afforded reason to believe that there was no mistake on the part of the press reporter, but that Mr. Barker, for reasons easily divined, had come to this country under an alias; and so we stated to our readers last week. The same statement was also made by the *Tribune*, and in that paper of Saturday last appeared the following letter:

To the Editor of the N. Y. Tribune.

SIR: Will you kindly allow me to correct a mistake contained in the *Tribune* on Tuesday and repeated on Wednesday, respecting the bearer of the Peace Address from the people of Great Britain and Ireland to the people of the United States?

I am there accused of coming in an *assumed* name, and that I had been a preacher of Unitarianism and Infidelity.

Permit me to say I am *not* the Rev. Joseph Barker; neither have I ever been an advocate of infidelity or Unitarianism.

Your insertion of this in to-morrow's *Tribune* will oblige yours, obediently, JOSEPH PARKER.

New York Hotel, N. Y., Dec. 2, 1864.

In the list of passengers who left this port for Liverpool on Saturday last we find the name of Joseph Parker, the writer, doubtless, of the above letter. Whether the letter tells the truth, or is only part of a scheme for concealing Mr. Barker's identity, we could easily decide if we could once get sight of the writer. We are inclined to think, however, that although Joseph Barker has distinguished himself of late as a champion of the South, the announcement of his name in the English papers as that of the agent appointed to bear the Peace Address across the water was a mistake. Will our friends in England help us clear up the mystery?

THOMAS WHITSON.

AT a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society, held on the 30th ult., the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That in the death of our Vice-President, THOMAS WHITSON, this Society has lost one of its earliest and most devoted members, and the community a valuable citizen, whose long life was a beautiful illustration of true Christian democracy; whose earnest sympathies were with every enterprise of philanthropy, and whose untiring labors were freely given to the work of abolishing American slavery.

Resolved, That we cherish, as a precious legacy, the example of large-hearted benevolence and uncompromising fidelity to the Right, bequeathed by our departed friend and coadjutor. JAMES MOTT, Chairman.

BENJAMIN C. BACON, Secretary.

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY for December failed to reach us, but having obtained a copy, we find the contents of more than usual interest. The opening paper, by the late H. D. Thoreau, is descriptive of Cape Cod and its surroundings, and is in the writer's best vein. Following this in succession we have "English Authors in Florence," "A Tobacconalian Ode" (very poor), and "Halcyon Days" (a capital story by Miss Cheesebro). Next we have one of Mrs. Stowe's "House and Home Papers"—subject Cookery—to our thinking one of the very best of the series. The conscientious housewife will find in it truths to which, as she values the health and the lives of her family, she should give prompt heed. D. A. Wasson gives us, under the title of "Ice and Esquimaux," the first chapter of a report of his late visit to Labrador. The story opens well, and the remaining chapters will be looked for with high anticipations. Harriet Hosmer, in a brief paper, explains "The Process of Sculpture," discriminating between the work of the artist and that of the mechanic who assists him therein. T. W. Higginson gives us another and a very interesting chapter of "Leaves from an Officer's Journal," from which extracts will be found on the fourth page. The next paper, by Goldwin Smith, Professor of History in Oxford University, on the Relations of England and America, is in substance the lecture lately delivered by him in the Parker Fraternity course. It is faultless in spirit, cogent in argument, and just alike to England and America. "We are a Nation" is the title of a paper in which the political and moral results of the recent election are duly estimated and weighed. We quote this striking passage:

"As for American slavery, it perishes from the face of the earth utterly. We have had enough of the serpent which the young Republic warmed in its too kind bosom. Now it dies; there is no help for it: if you object to the heel upon its head, and place your own head there to shield it, God pity you, my friend, for you will have need of more than human pity! This war is to be brought to a triumphant close, and the cause of the war extirpated, whether you like it or not. You can accept destruction and ignominy with it, or you may live to rejoice over the most glorious victory and reform of the age: take your choice: but understand, once for all, that complaint is puerile, and expostulation but an idle wind in the face of inexorable Fate. Shall we remember our martyred heroes, our noble, our beloved, who have gone down in this conflict, and sit gloomily content while the devouring monster survives? Is it nothing that they have fallen, and yet such a wrong that the fetters of the bondman should fall? Is the claim of property in man so sacred, and the blood of our brothers so cheap? Have done with this heartless cant—this prating about the constitutional rights of traitors!"

The duties still devolving upon the friends of liberty are thus clearly set forth:

"A great and most important work still remains for us. It is not enough to perform simply the external and obvious duties of the hour. What we would insist on here is the internal and moral work to be done. Men have never yet given full credit to the power of an idea. With faith, ye shall remove mountains. A pebble of truth, in the hand of the shepherd-boy of Israel, is mightier to prevail than the spear like a weaver's beam. How long were the little band of Abolitionists despised! But they were the cutwater of the national ship. With their revolutionary idea, so opposed to the universal prejudice, they succeeded at last in moving the entire country, just as one cog-wheel set against another overcomes its resistance and puts the whole machinery in motion. The rills of thought, shooting from the heights of a few pure and lofty minds, have spread out into this sea of practical Abolitionism which now covers the whole land—although the sea may be inclined to deny its source. May we, then, charge the pioneers of the Anti-Slavery sentiment with having caused this war? In the same manner we may regard the coming of Christ as being the cause of all the wars and persecutions of Christianity.

If such is the force of earnest conviction, consider what we too may do. We have gone to the polls and voted for the accomplishment of a certain object: far more intelligently than at the beginning of the war (for few knew then what we were fighting for), we have met the enemies of our country, and defeated them at the ballot-box. But there is another and no less important vote to be cast. The Twentieth Presidential Election is not the last, even for this year. We are to continue casting our ballots, every day, and day after day—nay, year after year, if necessary—to the end. We have had political suffrage; but moral suffrage is now called for. Here woman realizes her rights so long talked about, and so little understood; here, too, even the intelligent, patriotic boy and girl can exert an influence. We know something of what words can do; but how little we appreciate the power which is behind words! By the wishes of your heart, by the aspirations of your soul, by the energies of your mind and will, you form about you an atmosphere as real as the air you breathe, although, like that, invisible. Not a prayer is lost; not a throb of patriotism goes for nothing; never a wave of impulse dies upon the ethereal deep in which we live and move and have our being. Be filled with the truth as with life itself; let the divine aura exhale from you wherever you move; and thus you may do more to overcome the opposition to our cause than when you deposited your ticket in the box. You may, perhaps, breathe the breath of life into the nostrils of the coldest clay of conservatism you know; for true it is that men not only catch manners, as they do diseases, one from another, but that they catch unconscious inspiration also. Boswell, when absent from London and his hero, acknowledged himself to be empty, vapid; and he became somewhat only when "impregnated with the Johnsonian ether." So the ether of your own earnest, fervent, patriotic character may impregnate the spiritless and help to sustain the brave. Consider, moreover, what an element may be thus generated by the combined hopes and prayers of a whole loyal people! This is the atmosphere which is to sustain the President and his advisers in their work: this, although we may not know it, and although they may be unaware, is the vital breath they need to give them wisdom and power equal to the great crisis; while even the soldiers, in the far-off fields of conflict, shall feel the agitations of this subtile fluid, this life-supporting oxygen, buoying up their hopes, and waiting their banners on to victory.

The poems of the number are by Whittier, Holmes and Longfellow.

The number for January will be the first of volume XV., and will contain articles by W. C. Bryant, Bayard Taylor, J. G. Whittier, Nathaniel Hawthorne, Mrs. Stowe, and other eminent writers. Boston: Ticknor and Fields.

NEW MUSIC.—Horace Waters, 481 Broadway, has laid on our table several new pieces of music, as follows:

"Atlanta's Ours, and Fairly Won." Song and Chorus. Music by A. K. Virgil.

"Our Flag and Our President." Quartette. Words by James Dudley, Music by W. H. Perry.

"Me Too." Song and Chorus. By Eliza J. Coffin.

"Beautiful Annie." Sung by the Hutchinsons. Poetry and Music by James G. Clark.

"The Betrothed." Mazurka. B. E. Ruboti.

"Bear this Gently to my Mother." Song and Chorus. Words by Thomas Manahan. Music by George A. Russell.

"Maryland's Free!" Words by Rev. George Lansing Taylor. Music by Miss Fortune.

—The piece last mentioned is likely to prove highly popular. Editors noticing it, and sending a marked copy of such notice to the publisher, may expect to receive a copy by mail.

THE WESTMINSTER REVIEW for October (American Edition, L. Scott & Co., 38 Walker Street) contains nine articles, with the following titles: 1, Modern Phases of Jurisprudence in England; 2, Mountaineering; 3, The Life of Jesus by Strauss; 4, The Patent Laws; 5, Dr. Newman's Apologia; 6, Herrings and Herring Fisheries; 7, Mr. Tennyson's New Poems; 8, Modern Novelists—Charles Dickens; 9, The Laws of Marriage and Divorce; Contemporary Literature.

THE CONTINENTAL MONTHLY for December offers the following table of contents: 1, An Army: its Organizations and Movements, Fifth Paper, by Lieut.-Col. C. W. Tolles, A. Q. M.; 2, Aphorisms, by Rev. Asa L. Colton; 3, Ænone, Chapters XVI. and XVII.; 4, The Vision, by George B. Peck; 5, The Undivine Comedy, a Polish Drama, Part IV., by Count Sigismund Krasinski, translated by Martha Walker Cook; 6, Self-Sacrifice Analect from Richter; 7, Shanghai: its Streets, Shops and People, by Henry B. Auchinsloss; 8, On Hearing a Trio, by Mary Freeman Goldbeck; 9, The Ideal Man for Universal Imitation, or, the Sinless Perfection of Jesus, a Positive Reply to Strauss and Renan; 10, Sketches of American Life and Scenery, VI., to Saranac and back, by Lucia D. Pychowska; 11, Tidings of Victory, by C. L. P.; 12, The Esthetics of the Root of all Evil, by George P. Upton; 13, Miracles, by Rev. Asa L. Colton; 14, Letter of Hon. R. J. Walker in favor of the Reëlection of Abraham Lincoln; 15, Genius, by Richard Bowen; 16, Literary Notices—Editor's Table.

John F. Trow, Publisher, 50 Green Street, New York.

THE LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW for October (American Edition, L. Scott & Co., 38 Walker Street) offers the following table of contents: 1, Cochin-China and Cambodia; 2, Workmen's Benefit Societies; 3, Rawden Brown's Venetian State Papers; 4, Dr. William Smith's Dictionary of the Bible; 5, Sanitary State of the Army in India; 6, Life of Lockhart; 7, Photography; 8, Law Reform; 9, Dr. Newman's Apologia.

Chronicles of the War.

Latest News in Brief.

Our only intelligence of Sherman's progress comes from rebel sources. It is, on the whole, very encouraging. The two columns of his army have steadily crashed through the State of Georgia toward the seaboard since their start in the first week in November; capturing Milledgeville—easily beating a Georgia militia force at Griswoldsville (ten miles east of Macon)—burning Madison Station (ninety-four miles from Augusta)—crossing the Oconee river—then, having united, cutting the Augusta and Savannah railroad—and capturing the town of Millen, the depot used by the rebels for the confinement of the Union prisoners. The last report is that our forces were within six miles of Savannah a week ago or more.

Gen. Foster is said to have advanced from Port Royal to meet Sherman, and to have cut the rebel communications between Charleston and Savannah.

A significant little paragraph in an Augusta paper says that, during the progress of our army, "many negroes were enticed away from homes of comfort," and that "*families of wealth have not a house-servant left, and those who were the most trusted were often the first to leave.*" These "trusted" chattels somehow failed to see the delights of slavery when they found a chance of getting away from it!

Hood lately made an attack upon Thomas at Franklin, 20 miles south of Nashville, and was repulsed with great loss. Thomas has fallen back upon Nashville, and his position is regarded as safe.

Gen. Grant sent Gregg's cavalry on a reconnoissance last week, to ascertain if troops had been sent south from Richmond. The expedition improved its time by destroying a lot of rebel property at Duval and Strong Creek stations, and returned to camp with the tidings that there were no traces that Lee had sent a soldier south.

A plot, hatched in Havana, to be carried out on the Pacific Ocean, and intended to sweep our commerce from that sea, was detected and completely foiled at Panama, last month. A rebel, named Hogg, and several confederates, left Wilmington early in November for Havana, and sailed thence for New Granada, under orders from "Secretary" Mallory to seize the Pacific steamer Guatemala, turn her into a pirate, and ravage the Pacific. The plot was detected by our Consul-General at Havana, who notified our Consul at Panama, and Admiral Pearson got ready to receive the rebels, who were allowed to take passage on board the steamer Salvador—the Guatemala having sailed. When 30 miles at sea, they were suddenly seized, their instructions and other papers were found, their arms taken, and they themselves sent back to Panama under guard.

Special Notices.

WENDELL PHILLIPS GARRISON'S LECTURE, "The New Corner-Stone," at Spring Garden Institute, Broad and Spring Garden, Philadelphia, Wednesday, 14th inst., at 8 p. m. Tickets, 25 cents. To be had at Pugh's, Sixth and Chestnut streets.

Advertisements.

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is the most healthy beverage known, and is very nutritious. The weak and infirm may use it at all times with impunity. The wife of the Rev. W. Eaves, local minister of the M. E. Church, Jersey City, who has not been able to use any Coffee for fifteen years, can use

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Dr. JAMES BOYLE, of 156 CHAMBERS STREET, says: "I have never known any Coffee so healthful, nutritious, and free from all injurious qualities as

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I advise my patients to drink it universally, even those to whom I have hitherto prohibited the use of Coffee."

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The Rev. C. LARUE, an eminent clergyman of the M. E. Church, now stationed at Halsey street, Newark, says of

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It received the Gold Medal of the American Institute in 1863.
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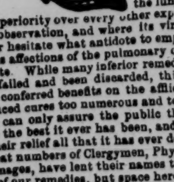
AYER'S CHERRY PECTORAL,



FOR THE RAPID CURE OF Coughs, Colds, Influenza, Hoarseness, Croup, Bronchitis, Incipient Consumption, and for the relief of Consumptive Patients in advanced stages of the disease.

So wide is the field of its usefulness, and so numerous are the cases of its cures, that almost every section of country abounds in persons, publicly known, who have been restored from alarming and even desperate diseases of the lungs by its use. When once tried, its superiority over every other expectorant is too apparent to escape observation, and where its virtues are known, the public no longer hesitate what antidote to employ for the distressing and dangerous affections of the pulmonary organs that are incident to our climate. While many inferior remedies thrust upon the community have failed and been discarded, this has gained friends by every trial, conferred benefits on the afflicted they can never forget, and produced cures too numerous and too remarkable to be forgotten.

We can only assure the public that its quality is carefully kept up to the best it ever has been, and that it may be relied on to do for their relief all that it has ever done.

Great numbers of Clergymen, Physicians, Statesmen, and eminent personages, have lent their names to certify the unparalleled usefulness of our remedies, but space here will not permit the insertion of them. The Agents below named furnish gratis our AMERICAN ALMANAC, in which they are given; with also full descriptions of the complaints they cure.

Those who require an *alterative medicine* to purify the blood will find AYER'S COMP. EXT. SARSAPARILLA the remedy to use. Try it once, and you will know its value.

Prepared by J. C. AYER & Co., Lowell, Mass., and sold by all Druggists and Dealers in medicines everywhere. 32—3mo.

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IT IS THE ONLY RELIABLE
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No Wood-work to swell or split. No Thumb-screws to get out of order. Warranted with or without Cog-wheels.

It took the First Premium at Fifty-seven State and County Fairs in 1863, and nearly double that number in 1864, and is, without an exception, the *best* Wringer ever made. Patented in the United States, England, Canada, and Australia. Agents wanted in every town, and in all parts of the world. Energetic agents can make from $3 to $10 per day.

WHAT EVERYBODY KNOWS, VIZ.:

That Iron well galvanized *will not rust.*
That a *simple* machine is better than a complicated one.
That a Wringer should be *self-adjusting, durable and efficient.*
That thumb-screws and fastenings cause *delay* and *trouble* to regulate and keep in order.
That wood soaked in water will *swell, shrink,* and *split.*
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That the Putnam Wringer, with or without cog-wheels, will *not tear the clothes.*
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That the Putnam Wringer has *all* the advantages, and *not one* of the disadvantages above named.
That all who have tried it pronounce it the *best* Wringer ever made.
That it will ring a thread or a bed-quilt *without alteration.*

We might fill the paper with testimonials, but insert only a few to convince the skeptical, if such there be; and we say to all, *test* Putnam's Wringer. Test it *thoroughly* with *any* and *all* others, and if not entirely satisfactory, return it.

PUTNAM MANUFACTURING CO.—Gentlemen; I know from practical experience that iron well galvanized with zinc will not oxydise or rust one particle. The Putnam Wringer is as near perfect as possible, and I can cheerfully recommend it to be the best in use.

Respectfully yours, JOHN W. WHEELER, Cleveland, O.

Many years experience in the galvanizing business enables me to indorse the above statement in *all particulars.*

JOHN C. LEFFERTS, No. 100 Beekman Street.

NEW YORK, January, 1864.—We have tested Putnam's Clothes Wringer by practical working, and know that it will do. It is cheap; it is simple; it requires no room, whether at work or at rest; a child can operate it; it does its duty thoroughly; it saves time, and it saves wear and tear. We earnestly advise all who have much washing to do, with all intelligent persons who have *any*, to buy this Wringer. It will pay for itself in a year at most.

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Sample Wringers sent, express paid, on receipt of price.
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This Machine is constructed on entirely new principles of mechanism, possessing many rare and valuable improvements, having been examined by the most profound experts, and pronounced to be SIMPLICITY and PERFECTION COMBINED.

It has a straight needle, perpendicular action, makes the Lock or Shuttle Stitch, which will neither rip nor ravel, and is alike on both sides; performs perfect sewing on every description of material, from Leather to the finest Nansook Muslin, with cotton, linen or silk thread, from the coarsest to the finest number. Having neither cam nor cog-wheel, and the least possible friction, it runs as smooth as glass, and is EMPHATICALLY A NOISELESS MACHINE!

PRICE OF MACHINES, COMPLETE:

No. 1, Family Machine, with Hemmer, Feller and Braider,	$60
No. 2, Small Manufacturing, with Extension Table,	$75
No. 3, Large Manufacturing, with Extension Table,	$85
No. 3, Large Manufacturing, for Leather, with rolling foot and oil cup,	$100

Soldiers wives and widows liberally dealt with.
One half hour's instruction is sufficient to enable any person to work this Machine to their entire satisfaction!

Agents wanted for all towns in the United States, where agents are not already established; also, for Cuba, Mexico, Central and South America, to whom a liberal discount will be given.

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A PICTORIAL DOUBLE NUMBER.—NEW VOL.

THE ILLUSTRATED PHRENOLOGICAL JOURNAL for Jan. contains Portraits of Tennyson, Silliman, Sheridan, Cobb, Phillips, the Mother of Wesley, an Indian Chief, Franz Müller, Miss Muggins, Miss Fury, the Princess of Wales, Florence Nightingale, A Group of Warriors, Hannibal, Julius Cæsar, Pizarro, Cromwell, Charles XII., Frederick the Great, Winfield Scott, Wellington, and Napoleon, with ETHNOLOGY, PHRENOLOGY, PHYSIOGNOMY, PHYSIOLOGY, and PSYCOLOGY. Ready next week. By post, 20 cents, $2.00 a year. Address, Messrs. FOWLER AND WELLS, 389 Broadway, New York.

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Anti-Freezing, Double-Acting, Forcing and Lifting.

These Pumps have now been in general use a number of years, and give better satisfaction than any other, and are recommended as THE BEST! by Captain Ericsson, and other eminent engineers. We can refer to thousands using them, and guarantee that all will recommend them. They are more simple in construction, and work easier, and cost less than all others.

"Our readers will find the double-acting, improved Pump of J. D. West & Co., one of the best in the market. It is very simple, works to a charm, so that any child may use it; throws a steady, continuous stream, and does not freeze in the coldest exposures, and is unusually cheap. We say this knowingly, and give the testimony of our own accord, without the knowledge or request of the proprietors."—*N. Y. Evening Post, July 1, 1863.*

"J. D. WEST & Co. We are pleased to state that the Pumps we had of you, about a year ago, have been in constant use, 12 hours each day, and raise for the use of our woolen factory about 130 gallons per minute. They work with but little power, compared with pumps we have used before, and do not get out of repair, and are satisfactory in all respects. DUNLAP MANUFACTURING CO."

Solon Robinson to the Farmers' Club, Jan. 28:

"No farmer who owns a well or a cistern can possibly afford to be without an iron pump. It should be at once a suction and force pump—a perfect little fire-engine—such a one known as 'West's Improved Pump.' I speak of this Pump, because I happen to know it . . . . to be very simple, durable, powerful, and cheap, and it don't freeze up, nor get out of order once a year . . . . I know this, and think I may be doing the farmers good by speaking of it . . . . A boy 10 years old can work it, and throw a continuous inch-and-a-quarter stream. . . . It can be made to work in deep wells as well as in shallow ones."

"GREAT NECK, L. I., 1860.

"I have used this Pump for one Summer and Winter, exposed to the northwest wind coming over Long Island Sound, being the coldest possible exposure, and at no time did it freeze, nor were we unable at any time to pump water with great ease.

"H. B. McILVAIN."

"The undersigned, having to use 'West's Improved Pumps,' cheerfully recommend them as simple, durable, and powerful in raising and throwing water, and for their ease of action, security against frost, and low price, we believe them superior to all others.

"WARREN LELAND, Met. Hotel, N. Y.
"J. W. POMEROY, Yonkers, N. Y.
"JOHN MESSEREAU, N. Y.
"DOMINICK LAWRENCE, Westchester."

From the New York Observer.

"We have had in use for months past one of West's Pumps, which has given us more satisfaction, as a force and lifting pump, than any we have ever used. It is one of great power, and well adapted for ship's decks, mines, factories, greenhouses, graperies, etc. The *Mining Chronicle and Railway Journal* says, 'It is recommended for its extreme simplicity of construction, great strength, and consequent durability and cheapness of repair. There is no stuffing-box—the pressure being held by a cup packing, like that upon the working-piston, working in a cylinder, fitted for the purpose within the upper air chamber—which we think a great improvement, as stuffing is so liable to be deranged and leak under strong pressure, to say nothing of the loss by friction incident thereto. It has also two air-chambers; thus the action of the valve is cushioned upon both sides by air—preventing water-hammer and vacuum-thump. The valves are very accessible, and simply and cheaply repaired. They work much easier than any pump we have ever seen; the 4-inch cylinder being worked by children in wells 100 feet deep, and as they are extremely cheap, as well as simple and strong, we freely recommend them.'"

"CAMBRIDGE MINE, N. C., June 15, 1863.

"J. D. WEST & Co.—Gents. The pump which I ordered for our mine is received, and put to work in our underlay shaft, which we are sinking. We find that one man will, with ease, lift 60 gallons per minute. We lifted in three and a half hours all the water in the shaft, which measures seven by twelve feet and thirty feet deep, and it was full when we commenced. It answers our expectations in every respect, and our workmen are highly pleased with it. It will do great service with but trifling expense for repairs.

"Yours, respectfully, BURR HIGGINS."

"This may certify that I have been using, at my manufactory, for the last four years, 'West's Improved Pumps.' I now have in use three of said pumps, one of which is kept constantly at work, 24 hours of each day (save Sundays), and has been running for the past two years. I pronounce them, unhesitatingly, the best pumps that have been brought to my notice, having used many others previously. They are simple in their construction, and not easily disarranged. JAS. A. WEBB.

"N. Y., October 10, 1859."

We have plenty more such certificates, but think these are enough. For Pumps, Hose, Pipe, etc., address or call upon

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THE WHEELER AND WILSON SEWING MACHINE (No. 625 Broadway, N. Y.) makes the

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and ranks highest on account of the elasticity, permanence, beauty, and general desirableness of the stitching when done, and the wide range of its application.—*Report of American Inst., N. Y.*

KISSINGEN, VICHY, AND ALL OTHER MEDICINAL MEDICAL WATERS.

HANBURY SMITH, M.D., 808 Broadway, New York.

NEW MUSIC—"MARYLAND'S FREE."

Song and chorus. Poetry by Rev. GEORGE LANSING TAYLOR, author of "No Slave Beneath that Starry Flag." Music by M. FORTUNE. Price 30 cents; mailed free. This is one of the best songs that has been published for a long time. Editors noticing this song shall receive a copy by sending marked paper containing notice. HORACE WATERS, Publisher, No. 481 Broadway.

ARTIFICIAL LEGS, BY E. D. HUDSON, M.D., Clinton Hall, UP STAIRS, Astor Place, New York. Soldiers provided by commission of the Surgeon General, U. S. A. HANDS of superior quality. FEET for limbs shortened by Hip-disease a great benefaction. Dr. H. having devoted his attention and practice for fourteen years to the subject of artificial limbs, has made such improvements upon the "Palmer Patent," the right to which is his by purchase, as to render his work in this branch of surgery superior to all others. Send for descriptive pamphlets.

Miscellaneous Department.

THE VANISHERS.

BY J. G. WHITTIER.

SWEETEST of all childlike dreams
  In the simple Indian lore
Still to me the legend seems
  Of the Elves who flit before.

Flitting, passing, seen and gone,
  Never reached nor found at rest,
Baffling search, but beckoning on
  To the Sunset of the Blest.

From the clefts of mountain rocks,
  Through the dark of lowland firs,
Flash the eyes and flow the locks
  Of the mystic Vanishers!

And the fisher in his skiff,
  And the hunter on the moss,
Hear their call from cape and cliff,
  See their hands the birch-leaves toss.

Wishful, longing, through the green
  Twilight of the clustered pines,
In their faces rarely seen
  Beauty more than mortal shines.

Fringed with gold their mantles flow
  On the slopes of westering knolls;
In the wind they whisper low
  Of the Sunset Land of Souls.

Doubt who may, O friend of mine!
  Thou and I have seen them too;
On before with beck and sign
  Still they glide, and we pursue.

More than clouds of purple trail
  In the gold of setting day;
More than gleams of wing or sail
  Beckon from the sea-mist gray.

Glimpses of immortal youth,
  Gleams and glories seen and lost,
Far-heard voices sweet with truth
  As the tongues of Pentecost—

Beauty that eludes our grasp,
  Sweetness that transcends our taste,
Loving hands we may not clasp,
  Shining feet that mock our haste—

Gentle eyes we closed below,
  Tender voices heard once more,
Smile and call us, as they go
  On and onward, still before.

Guided thus, O friend of mine!
  Let us walk our little way,
Knowing by each beckoning sign
  That we are not quite astray.

Chase we still with baffled feet
  Smiling eye and waving hand,
Sought and seeker soon shall meet,
  Lost and found, in Sunset Land!

—*Atlantic Monthly.*

FREDERICK DOUGLASS IN BALTIMORE.

Correspondence of the Cambridge (Md.) Intelligencer.

BALTIMORE, Nov. 21, 1864.

FRED. DOUGLASS, the distinguished colored orator and champion of human rights, lectured in Bethel Church, in this city, on Thursday evening last. The audience was composed mostly of his own people, though quite a number of whites were present, among whom were some of the most eminent citizens of Baltimore. Immediately in front of the pulpit a temporary altar was erected, enveloped in and decorated with American flags, with just sufficient space to render visible the words "WELCOME HOME." And when the illustrious exile made his appearance, the manner in which he was greeted was proof conclusive that the words were not written for buncomb. As he walked up the aisle, with his sister, whom he had not seen for thirty years, leaning on his arm, the choir struck up that dear, familiar old tune, "Home, sweet Home!" chanting it with a charming tenderness and peculiar earnestness that rendered it surpassingly beautiful; while the audience, without respect to color [think of that, ye ex-man-owners, and weep!], rising to their feet, gave vent to their feelings in joyous bursts of enthusiasm. When order was restored he was introduced to the audience by one of his colored friends in a few neat and appropriate remarks. Then, amid a perfect torrent of rapturous applause, Douglass rose. With considerable emotion, though with exceeding grace and eloquence, he returned his heartfelt thanks for the generous and cordial welcome extended him. He said thirty years ago he left Maryland a slave, but he returned to-day a freeman, and found Maryland arrayed on the side of freedom. Since then, great and radical changes had been wrought. He was confident that this change would promote the welfare and interest of both races; that ere ten years elapsed even the slaveholders would be profoundly grateful that they were rid of slavery. It had always proved a draw-back to Maryland. Other States, starting from the same premises, with not half the natural advantages, had eclipsed her in wealth, population, and every element of material and enlightened progress essential to make a people great and powerful. No people could be, nor deserved to be, truly prosperous and happy with slavery. Why? because it was a hideous wrong. As dearly as he loved liberty, he would sooner be a cringing, fawning slave, than a slaveholder. "For," said he, "if the shackles were on my ankles, they were also on his neck." There was deep down in their hearts an accuser—a conscience that would not let them rest. Slavery made a slave of the white man as well as the black. It was essentially a *peculiar* institution, and required peculiar laws to keep it alive. It also demanded a peculiar politics, a peculiar religion, a peculiar press, and, in fact, a peculiar people. It tolerated a free expression of opinion so long as it was on its side. If a man talked any other way, he either had his mouth speedily muzzled or was treated to a coat of tar and feathers. And as to a free, independent press, such an institution never existed, and would have stood a better chance in despotic Russia. Thus slavery poisoned the body politic and made it the veriest slave to its demands. But he did not blame the slaveholder for this deplorable state of affairs. It was perfectly natural under the circumstances. Slavery was logical, and as it and freedom, being absolutely incompatible, could not exist together, therefore freedom must go down. The slaveholder did not love freedom less, but his "niggers" more.

With much feeling and surpassing eloquence he alluded to the wrongs his race had received at the hands of the white man. Never before did I listen to so graphic a description of the horrors and cruelties of that foul and hell-born system of abominations. It seemed as if I could see with the distinctness of reality the whipping-post and its victim, his flesh lacerated and the warm blood oozing from his veins at every application of the lash; could behold them gathered in groups around the auction-block, ragged and foot-sore, their countenances the picture of the acutest agony, and their eyes bedimmed with tears, with now and then a stifled sob and heart-rending shriek as the husband or wife, parent or child, brother or sister, were torn from each other forever; could hear the clanking of chains as they were driven to the steamer, preparing for the New Orleans market; the howlings of the bloodhound as he pursued the panting fugitive, striving to reclaim his God-given liberty. He spoke of the new-born babe—all innocence, and as free from sin as the angels of Heaven. It could not lisp its mother's name, much less assert its rights. It was the very embodiment of helplessness, which should be the surest guaranty of its protection. Yet the slaveholder takes this helpless little creature, who was ever incapable of doing him any harm, and consigns it to perpetual bondage. "But," said he, "I will not speak of these things more. Thank God, they have gone by, never to return again. Maryland to-day is clothed in new garments. She has a free Constitution, and the billows of slavery are rolling back to leave the land blooming again in the purer air of Liberty and Justice."

MR. DOUGLASS IN WASHINGTON.

["Occasional" (J. W. Forney) writes to the Philadelphia *Press* from Washington under date of Nov. 25.]

I went last night to hear Mr. Frederick Douglass, the much-abused colored orator, at the Israel Bethel Church, and I thought I had well celebrated my Thanksgiving by the investment. Never having heard him before, it was worth something to hear him now. His audience was composed of persons of both, indeed of several, colors. Now, I think it would be difficult to find anywhere a more intelligent and appreciative assemblage of people. The women were well dressed—the men well behaved. Those of his race were evidently proud of Douglass, and they had a good right to be so. I studied him closely. He has rare talent. What pleased me most in this man was his utter want of affectation. We can best realize the rapid progress of events, and the certain triumph of long-assailed principles, in the life of Douglass. The son of an intelligent and wealthy Maryland planter, and therefore taught as well by inheritance as by experience the value of education and the enormity of slavery, he escaped to the free States more than twenty years ago, and from that time to the present has been the object of the unceasing assaults of the pro-slavery politicians of the North, and of their coadjutors and associates in the South. But by sheer force of intellect and determination, long before the rebellion he had won for himself a position as a masterly public speaker, and had attracted the most refined and appreciative audiences. I can remember well how common it was in the old times, when to be a Democrat was to be opposed to Abolitionism, that denunciation and ridicule of Fred. Douglass was a potent and favorite pastime among my former political associates. The moment, however, that slavery took up arms against the government, the history of Fred. Douglass became intensely interesting, and he himself began to reap the harvest of the seeds he had sown so industriously among so many perils. Now he comes back to Maryland and to the District of Columbia to see them both free—not by the advance of our armies, but by the act of Congress in the one case, and by the vote of the people in the other. So it is that in this marvellous struggle the triumph of one man illustrates the triumph of the Republic. So it is that we typify in the success of Douglass the success of emancipation. I presume many of the things he said last night were old to those whom he addressed, but they were all new to me. His resources are various. He is alternately argumentative and plaintive, pathetic and humorous, never declamatory, never placing himself in an oratorical attitude, and never making what are vulgarly called points. Easy, graceful, natural, I do not know when I have listened to a more agreeable and instructive public speaker. He is, of course, intensely exercised on the subject of slavery; but it was very suggestive to hear him address his own race, to advise them to obey the laws, to fight for their country, to avoid all public disturbances, to present a neat and clean appearance, and to remember and to guard against the prejudices that existed against them.

MR. SLOANE ON CIVIL LIBERTY.

From the Rochester Express, Nov. 29.

QUITE a large audience, considering the unfavorable circumstances, enjoyed the pleasure, last evening, of listening to the lecture of Rev. J. R. W. Sloane, of New York, on Civil and Religious Liberty. The lecturer is a very clear and forcible speaker, earnest in his moral convictions, and most wholesomely fearless in expressing them. He gave a definition of Civil Liberty as understood by different classes of men—the Mormon perverting it into the abuse of polygamy, and others distorting it into an excuse of their various crimes. The speaker showed that true civil liberty did not mean the license to do anything that a man liked, but the right to do all that he ought, to fulfill all his duties to his Creator without interfering with or interference from his fellow-man. Taking this as its meaning, the lecturer thought the history of the world ever since the Christian era, had been an expansion and outgrowth of the great idea of civil and religious liberty. He gave a rapid but distinct review of the various great eras in the history of men, in connection with this idea. He paid a glowing tribute to the persecuted Waldenses, to the leaders of the great Reformation, to the Puritans, and to the old Scottish Covenanters, who, in their organization as the Scottish Presbyterian Church, and under the old blue flag of Scotland, were long the representatives of liberty.

The speaker said that to Scotland, bleak and rugged as it was, the world owed more than to any other land, except, possibly, Judea; and the ground-work of blue in our own national banner was appropriately taken from the old blue flag of the Scottish Covenanters.

The settlement of New England and the American Revolution were the next great epochs in the history of civil liberty, and the lecturer noticed the vital principles which gave those events their great importance. The terrible conflict in which we are now engaged is the latest epoch in the great struggle. The people have within a few days past decided by an overwhelming majority that the war shall not close until liberty is proclaimed throughout all the land, and to all the inhabitants thereof.

We regret that we have not time to-day for a suitable sketch of the lecture, which was well received by the audience. We noticed as a gratifying testimony to the character of the audience, that those portions of the address in which were the most radical ideas were received with the strongest expressions of favor.

The lecturer incidentally mentioned, in connection with his subject, as one of the blessings of the war and of the advance of public sentiment, that clergymen and speakers were now enabled to proclaim their ideas without fear of censure or persecution.

Mr. Sloane speaks entirely without notes, and this gives him, as we think, a decided advantage with his audience over most lecturers who are often inconveniently confined to their manuscript.

MISSOURI—GRATZ BROWN.

MISSOURI having cast her vote for Abraham Lincoln by about Twenty Thousand majority—giving him the largest relative gain in her aggregate poll of any State in the Union—and elected a full Emancipation ticket for Governor and minor State officers, with a Legislature to match, is about to hold a Constitutional Convention to banish the last vestige of slavery *at once* from her soil. She held, some two years since, a "Conservative" Convention which provided for *gradual* Emancipation; but her loyal people have since had new light cast upon this subject, in part, from their own burning houses—which has fully convinced them that they cannot afford gradually to abolish slavery unless they are resigned to a gradual abolition also of the wholesale robbery, arson and murder wherewith they have for years been afflicted. Hence they have decided to make short work of their deadly foe, the parent and prompter of all their calamities.

Their able and fearless U. S. Senator, B. Gratz Brown—who was at least *one* of her first public advocates of thorough Immediate Emancipation—has written a letter to *The Cosmos*, wherein he says:

"Without doubt, assuming the abolition of slavery as settled, the concomitant question of *franchise* will claim all the faith and tax all the firmness of the friends of radical freedom for its right settlement. That violent prejudices will have to be encountered, and all the weary round of two-facedness and demagoguery and subterfuge confronted, is rendered certain by the attitudes of the conflict of the past three years in Missouri. But that any people forming a new constitution of their liberties, after such experiences as ours, should willingly leave to breed other conflicts, unjust discriminations against large portions of their population, in the shape of a refusal of any participation in government, is scarcely to be credited. To those who are emancipated, access to the franchise must be opened up, otherwise the boasted freedom conceded to them is a cheat, and their *status* for the future becomes one of abjectness or else active hostility. Temporary and transitory stages of qualification may be prescribed if needful—service in the armies is already qualifying thousands for the duties of citizenship, but the primary condition of a right of eventual suffrage must be incorporated into their estate, if the honor and the safety and the prosperity of the commonwealth for all time is to be consulted. The same logic that obtains in the absorption of any other large element of population into the body politic also controls with respect to those manumitted as a class. The argument of slavery is inferiority of race. Shall we abolish the name, but retain the argument? The most patent evils of slavery flow from caste distinctions reacting upon society. Shall we make a merit of destroying the institution, yet insist on perpetuating the distinctions that breed social disease and death? There surely are considerations of state that should weigh decisively with a community just emerging from the fierce fires of an unparalleled strife engendered by like prejudices and errors, and should cause it to cling to the path of safety. But before all such, and higher than any question of profit or peace, is the knowledge that it is right, and conforms to God's appointment whereby all men are created free and equal.

"The dangers and short-comings which have attended the exercise of the franchise in the past, and prevented the attainment of that perfect reflection of popular will which is the ideal of democratic government, have arisen from two or three sources, such as frauds impairing the purity of the ballot-box, exercise of suffrage as identified with slavery rather than freedom; thus involving moral contradictions fatal to any truth of public utterance, and the attempts to impose restrictions and limitations upon the privilege of voting that were not founded in any justice, thus seeking to make that the property of the few which is the common right of the many. In addition to this may also be cited the unwise provisions which have sought to render difficult, if not impossible, the carrying out of the popular will in matters of constitutional reform. Such obstacles invite harsh and revolutionary modes of redress. They exasperate passion and intensify political crises. They are usually made to secure doubtful or wrongful assumptions against the corrections of awakened virtue. And in all their operation they both discredit and embarrass any free or fair exercise of the elective franchise. If, therefore, we are to preserve universal suffrage as the corner-stone of our political structure, any reconstruction should carefully guard against those defects which have so shaken the old edifice as to make its habitation unsafe.

"Without undertaking to amplify the positions thus presented, it may be sufficient to state in brief the requirements at the hands of our new Convention on this head. They are—

"I. Protection of the purity of elections by a registration that shall identify the person and the ballot.

"II. Elimination of slavery from the State, not only in its present constitutional guaranty, but in all those recognitions which go to its support, and enable it more or less directly to control the suffrage.

"III. Opening up the franchise to the attainment of all save the criminal—among whom must primarily be classed those whose sympathies led them to foster rebellion.

"IX. Facilitating the modes whereby popular expression may accomplish constitutional reform as the only complete assurance of future progress.

"It is upon such points that the friends of radical freedom should be insistent with those representing them, and united in coöperation with each other. They involve the outlines of a reform that must take place in Missouri sooner or later, and those who are disposed to shirk such issues now would do well to reflect whether they are not likely to be agitated with increasing violence if deferred to a time when conservatism shall grow insolent in the arms of peace.

"Trusting that our noble State may yet be the first to pioneer the way of deliverance from former afflictions, and that in establishing here freedom as the watchword of our new life, we may be paralyzed with no halting performance, but declare and set forth with undaunted faith the equality of all men before the law, I remain, very truly yours,

B. GRATZ BROWN.

THE VOICE OF LIBERTY.

[Nineteen years ago the following poem was read by the Rev. R. C. Waterston, before the Mercantile Library Association of Boston, at their twenty-fifth anniversary. How wonderfully the Prayer and the Prophecy are in our day becoming fulfilled:]

THE spirit of the Pilgrims
  Is spreading o'er the earth,
And millions now point to the land,
  Where Freedom had her birth:
Hark! Hear ye not the earnest cry
      That peals o'er every wave?
        "GOD ABOVE,
        IN THY LOVE,
      O LIBERATE THE SLAVE!"

Ye heard of trampled Poland,
  And of her sons in chains,
While daring thoughts flashed through your minds,
  And fire flowed through your veins!
Then wherefore heard ye not the cry,
      That breaks o'er land and sea?
        "ON EACH PLAIN,
        REND EACH CHAIN,
      AND SET THE CAPTIVE FREE!"

O think ye that our fathers,
  That noble patriot band,
Could now look down, with kindling joy,
  And smile upon the land?
Or would a trumpet-tone go forth,
      And ring from shore to shore,
        "ALL WHO STAND,
        IN THIS LAND
      SHALL BE FREE FOREVERMORE!"

Great God, inspire thy children,
  And make thy creatures just,
That every galling chain may fall,
  And crumble into dust!
THEN—NOT ONE SOUL THROUGHOUT THE LAND
      OUR FATHERS DIED TO SAVE,
        SHALL AGAIN,
        BY FELLOW-MEN,
      BE BRANDED AS A SLAVE!

These lines, and a long down-trodden Race shall enjoy their Freedom-day together!

"POOR WHITE TRASH."

["Berwick" writes from Nashville to the Boston *Journal* as follows:]

I MET to-day Mr. Oviatt, who inaugurated the system now in operation of taking care of refugees from the South. He had often befriended the poor people who began to arrive here in July of last year, as an act of humanity, until his unselfish labors attracted the notice of Gov. Johnson, who urged him to devote his whole time to it in an official capacity. In the beginning of September he took office under the Governor in the quality of an agent for the destitute, and continued in the work till the 1st of April last. During that period he received about ten thousand persons. Mr. Oviatt is from Cleveland, Ohio, and is a relative of a former partner of John Brown. His experience and statements are of value.

It was pitiable, he said, before the office that he filled was created, to see the listlessness and extreme poverty of the refugees, who during his entire term were of the lower class, or white trash, almost exclusively. The men who accompanied the parties would sit down on their miserable and rude furniture with a stolid apathy, as if they had no interest in life and no motive for exertion, and pay no attention to anybody or anything, until their women came back and told them that they had found a place to go to until they could leave the city. It never seemed to enter their heads that it was the duty of the husband to go and search for a shelter for his wife and children. Mrs. Oviatt, who has lived in the South for fourteen years, and seen a great deal of the life of this class, states that it is just the way they act at home—they depend in everything upon their wives. The women do all the hard work.

"But what do the men do then?" I asked her.

"Oh, go fishing and hunting, and drink whiskey when they can get it. The women do pretty much all the out-door work."

I asked if they could read, or what part of them? Mr. Oviatt replied that their ignorance was beyond anything we can conceive of in the North. It was amazing. There was not one per cent. who could read.

"And their morals?"

Nearly all the boys of eight and nine and upward were smokers—they all swore without exception; and so do all the women. They all swear; and they all smoke or chew tobacco or dip snuff; and sometimes all four! I had heard enough along the military railroads to form an unfavorable opinion as to their fidelity to the marriage vow; but Mr. Oviatt said that in his opinion they were worse in that respect than the negro women themselves.

"But do they all smoke, or chew, or dip?"

Mr. Oviatt did not remember a single case of exception. Not one. The lower order take the green tobacco leaf, dry it, and chew it without any other preparation.

Mrs. Oviatt, in all her experience in different parts of this department, could not recall a single instance of women or good sized girls who did not use tobacco in some form.

A young girl, a refugee from Northern Alabama, who was present, was asked if she knew of any women or girls in her section who did not smoke. Only one—her granddaddy's folks, she said; the old man was opposed to tobacco; but this was the only family that she knew who did not use it.

Mr. Oviatt's experiences were almost wholly with refugee women and girls—not more than eight per cent., he thought, of these poor people, were accompanied by males of the conscript age, or over sixteen years. A goodly proportion of them, perhaps one-half, had husbands in the North, prisoners of war, or in the Southern loyal regiments. They came up to induce their imprisoned husbands to take the oath and thereby escape from the power of the South; or to be nearer their liege lords; or, if not that, at least further from the reach of the rebels. Eight thousand of them at least were sent North.

Once, several years ago, when Abolitionists were not so plentiful as these gentlemen are now, after what I had seen and heard in Charleston—how conceited they were, how confident that they alone could whip the North, and how little they knew of the true spirit and the vast strength of our people—I suggested that it would be a great saving of expense to us and a real benefit to them to take all the secessionists there and cause them to travel through the free States, just as the different Indian chiefs have done, and for the same purpose—to let them see how vain it would be to measure swords with the nation. What I have seen of the unbounded ignorance of these poor whites convinced me that a somewhat similar excursion, but for a different purpose, or rather for the same purpose but by a different method, to insure future peace, namely, by educated freemen, would become necessary in their case. A residence in a highly civilized community—not merely a contact with it—seems indispensable to educate these people. And see how it has been done, and by the same angel, in disguise, that has blessed us otherwise in spite of ourselves—military necessity. They are going North by tens of thousands, to carry back, by and by, to their old Southern homes, a higher morality and higher aims than they have ever hitherto dreamed of. Oh, people of the North! greet them tenderly and teach them quickly, for, degraded as they are, and ignorant as they are, it is on them, elevated and enlightened, that we must chiefly depend to build up the South once more.

Many sad incidents checker the history of these refugees after their arrival in Nashville, and even after their escape from the rebels. One, say, for example: a car was smashed, killing the father, mother and three daughters of a family of seven. The two little orphans were brought here. "They appear to be very bright children," wrote Mr. Oviatt at the time, "and well-behaved." Some of their friends have come here from where they came from, but they will not consent to go back anywhere near the rebels; they seem to be very much afraid of them."

Here is another extract:

"The past week a woman was taken with a fit and died in a few minutes, leaving three children, the eldest only seven years and the youngest three. They have a father, but he is in the Twelfth Tennessee, and near Knoxville."

Again:

"A woman died a few days ago, leaving five children—all daughters; two of them, it is true, old enough to take care of the other three, but they will not do it. Their father came yesterday, but he is paralyzed and helpless, so that he only makes one more charge upon me. You will see from this that my need of an arrangement for the care of orphans is getting pretty urgent. True, I can feed them; but there is no one to take care of them; for no one is willing to do it without pay, and for that I can find no way to arrange. And then, again, they should have a school, but the teachers I cannot find amongst the refugees, even if willing to work gratis. * * * Besides these, there are cases here in town where the father is in the army and the mother dead, and no one to look after the children when they ought to be at school.

JUBILANT PATRIOTISM.

[The Syracuse *Standard* publishes the exordium of the Thanksgiving discourse of Rev. SAMUEL J. MAY, as follows:]

NEXT to the 4th of July, the 8th of November will hereafter forever be celebrated as the anniversary of the most important event in our national history. Perhaps it would not be extravagant to say, that the event of this latter date was even more important than that, which for more than eighty years has been commemorated as the *birth* of our nation. For if our Republic may be said to have been *born* on the 4th of July, 1776, with equal truth may it be said to have been *born again* on the blessed 8th of November, 1864. Yes, if the augury of that day be not utterly false our nation is saved—will be regenerated.

O! on how many anxious hearts did the morning of that day dawn! And what a burthen of anxiety was lifted from them, when the result of the election was made known. It had seemed as if the powers of darkness and of hell were combined against the life of this Republic; and no mere human foresight could see certainly that they would not effect their diabolical purpose. It was believed with too much reason, that the sanctity of the ballot-box was to be violated by tens of thousands of fraudulent voters. It was feared and, as the event proved, not without cause, that sacrilegious hands would be laid even upon the votes of our absent loyal soldiers, and those for the opposing candidate be inserted in their stead. To what extent such outrages would be perpetrated, no one could foretell. Then there were signs of evil spirits coming from the North, as well as the South, to ply their every art to corrupt the election, and, if successful, to inaugurate a reign of terror over our loyal States. Hundreds of thousands of traitors had leagued together, under such seemly names as "Knights of the Golden Circle," "Sons of Liberty," etc., to let loose the rebel prisoners, assassinate our prominent loyal citizens, rob our banks and wrap our cities in flames. Never were a people in more imminent peril. We were on the cap of a social volcano—we were at the edge of a political maelstrom!

Blessed be God! our dangers were discovered in time to be averted. Measures of precaution were so wisely and generally taken, that the diabolical plots of our enemies were thwarted; many of the instigators and desperadoes were arrested and imprisoned, and their accomplices were intimidated. Nay, better still, the more enlightened portion of the Democratic party were alarmed by the rashness and savagery of their base allies; and knowing full well that neither fire nor the sword is discriminating, they coöperated with the loyal guardians of the public safety; and so effectually were the threatened outbreaks provided against, that never did an election pass off more quietly. Indeed there was a serious, solemn aspect on the body politic, as if the constituents deeply felt that they were called to act in a fearful crisis—to decree the life or death of the Nation. And they *elected it to live.* "Happy art thou, O Israel, who is like unto thee, O People, saved by the Lord."

A HAPPY NEW YEAR.

[From "Leaves from an Officer's Journal," by T. W. HIGGINSON, in the *Atlantic Monthly* for December.]

CAMP SAXTON, near Beaufort, S. C.,
January 1, 1863 (evening).

OUR festival has come and gone, with perfect success, and our good General has been altogether satisfied. Last night the great fires were kept smouldering in the pits, and the beeves were cooked more or less, chiefly more—during which time they had to be carefully watched, and the great spits turned by main force. Happy were the merry fellows who were permitted to sit up all night, and watch the glimmering flames that threw a thousand fantastic shadows among the great gnarled oaks. And such a chattering as I was sure to hear, whenever I awoke, that night!

My first greeting to-day was from one of the most stylish sergeants, who approached me with the following little speech, evidently the result of some elaboration:

"I tink myself happy, dis New Year's day, for salute my own Cunnel. Dis day las' year I was servant to a Cunnel ob Secesh; but now I hab de privilege for salute my own Cunnel."

That officer, with the utmost sincerity, reciprocated the sentiment.

About 10 o'clock the people began to collect by land, and also by water—in steamers sent by Gen. Saxton for the purpose; and from that time all the avenues of approach were thronged. The multitude were chiefly colored women, with gay handkerchiefs on their heads, and a sprinkling of men, with that peculiarly respectable look which these people always have on Sundays and holidays. There were many white visitors also—ladies on horseback and in carriages, superintendents and teachers, officers and cavalrymen. Our companies were marched to the neighborhood of the platform, and allowed to sit or stand, as at the Sunday services; the platform was occupied by ladies and dignitaries, and by the band of the Eighth Maine, which kindly volunteered for the occasion; the colored people filled up all the vacant openings in the beautiful grove around, and there was a cordon of mounted visitors beyond. Above, the great live oak branches and their trailing moss; beyond the people, a glimpse of the blue river.

The services began at 11½ o'clock, with prayer by our Chaplain, Mr. Fowler, who is always, on such occasions, simple, reverential, and impressive. Then the President's Proclamation was read by Dr. W. H. Brisbane, a thing infinitely appropriate, a South Carolinian addressing South Carolinians; for he was reared among these very islands, and here long since emancipated his own slaves. Then the colors were presented to us by the Rev. Mr. French, a chaplain who brought them from the donors in New York. All this was according to the programme. Then followed an incident so simple, so touching, so utterly unexpected and startling, that I can scarcely believe it on recalling, though it gave the key-note to the whole day. The very moment the speaker had ceased, and just as I took and waved the flag, which now for the first time meant anything to these poor people, there suddenly arose, close beside the platform, a strong male voice (but rather cracked and elderly), into which two women's voices instantly blended, singing, as if by an impulse that could no more be repressed than the morning note of the song-sparrow,

"My country 'tis of thee,
  Sweet land of liberty,
    Of thee I sing!"

People looked at each other, and then at us on the platform, to see whence came this interruption, not set down in the bills. Firmly and irrepressibly the quavering voices sang on, verse after verse; others of the colored people joined in; some whites on the platform began, but I motioned them to silence. I never saw anything so electric; it made all other words cheap; it seemed the choked voice of a race at last unloosed. Nothing could be more wonderfully unconscious; art could not have dreamed of a tribute to the day of jubilee that should be so affecting; history will not believe it; and when I came to speak of it, after it was ended, tears were everywhere. If you could have heard how quaint and innocent it was! Old Tiff and his children might have sung it; and close before me was a little slave-boy, almost white, who seemed to belong to the party, and even he must join in. Just think of it! the first day they had ever had a country, the first flag they had ever seen which promised anything to their people, and here, while mere spectators stood in silence, waiting for my stupid words, these simple souls burst out in their lay, as if they were by their own hearths at home! When they stopped, there was nothing to do for it but to speak, and I went on; but the life of the whole day was in those unknown people's song.

Receiving the flags, I gave them into the hands of two fine-looking men, jet black, as color-guard, and they also spoke, and very effectively—Sergeant Prince Rivers and Corporal Robert Sutton. The regiment sang "Marching Along," and then Gen. Saxton spoke in his own simple, manly way, and Mrs. Frances D. Gage spoke very sensibly to the women, and Judge Stickney, from Florida, added something; then some gentlemen sang an ode, and the regiment the John Brown song, and then they went to their beef and molasses. Everything was very orderly, and they seemed to have a very gay time. Most of the visitors had far to go, and so dispersed before dress-parade, though the band stayed to enliven it. In the evening we had letters from home, and Gen. Saxton had a reception at his house, from which I excused myself; and so ended one of the most enthusiastic and happy gatherings I ever knew. The day was perfect, and there was nothing but success.

I forgot to say, that, in the midst of the services, it was announced that Gen. Fremont was appointed Commander-in-Chief—an announcement which was received with immense cheering, as would have been almost anything else, I verily believe, at that moment of high-tide. It was shouted across by the pickets above, a way in which we often receive news, but not always trustworthy.

WHAT IS A WORD?

BY JONES VERY.

WHAT is a word? A spirit-birth,
  Born of the living soul,
Which, uttered by the voice of man,
  Time's power cannot control.

A gift thou art to man alone—
  To bird and beast denied—
To show that to the heavenly race
  His nature is allied.

Mysterious essence! Birth and death
  Are in one instant thine;
Yet, born and dying with a breath,
  Thy being is divine.

The outward world thou dost ally
  To things by man unseen;
And, like an angel ever pass
  The heavens and earth between.

Thou dost to childhood's feeble powers
  A help to knowledge lend,
And aid the race, from age to age,
  Its wisdom to transcend.

Thou tellest of the distant Past,
  And biddest it live again;
And can'st with mystic key, unlock
  The Future's dim domain.

Still, lingering in our common tongue,
  We hear the elder speech;
And words which fell from Adam's lips
  His latest offspring reach.

The world, and all it holds, shall fade,
  And man himself shall die;
But thou, unchanged, shall live the same
  Through God's eternity.

—*Monthly Religious Magazine.*

PIETY OF THE BLACK SOLDIERS.

IN CAMP, December 14, 1863.

PASSAGES from prayers in the camp:

"Let me so lib dat when I die I shall *hab manners*, dat I shall know what to say when I see my Heabenly Lord."

"Let me lib wid de musket in one hand, an' de Bible in de oder—dat if I die at de muzzle of de musket, die in de water, die on de land, I may know I hab de bressed Jesus in my hand, an' hab no fear."

"I hab lef' my wife in de land o' bondage; my little ones dey say eb'ry night, Whar is my fader? But when I die, when de bressed mornin' rises, when I shall stan' in de glory, wid one foot on de water an' one foot on de land, den, O Lord, I shall see my wife an' my little chil'en once more."

These sentences I noted down, as best I could, beside the glimmering camp-fire last night. The same person was the hero of a singular little *contre-temps* at a funeral in the afternoon. It was our first funeral. The man had died in hospital, and we had chosen a picturesque burial place above the river, near the old church, and beside a little nameless cemetery, used by generations of slaves. It was a regular military funeral, the coffin being draped with the American flag, the escort marching behind, and three volleys fired over the grave. During the services there was singing, the chaplain deaconing out the hymn in their favorite way. This ended, he announced his text—"This poor man cried, and the Lord heard him, and delivered him out of all his trouble." Instantly, to my great amazement, the cracked voice of the chorister was uplifted, intoning the text, as if it were the first verse of another hymn. So calmly was it done, so imperturbable were all the black countenances that I half began to conjecture that the chaplain himself intended it for a hymn, though I could imagine no prospective rhyme for *trouble*, unless it were approximated by *debbil*—which is, indeed, a favorite reference, both with the men and with his Reverence. But the chaplain, peacefully awaiting, gently repeated his text after the chant, and to my great relief the old chorister waived all further recitative and let the funeral discourse proceed.

Their memories are a vast bewildered chaos of Jewish history and biography; and most of the great events of the past, down to the period of the American Revolution, they instinctively attribute to Moses. There is a fine bold confidence in all their citations, however, and the record never loses piquancy in their hands, though strict accuracy may suffer. Thus one of my captains, last Sunday, heard a colored exhorter at Beaufort proclaim, "Paul may plant, *and may polish wid water*, but it won't do," in which the sainted Apollos would hardly have recognized himself.—*T. W. Higginson, in Atlantic Monthly.*

DEMOCRATIC EQUALITY.

THE lower and the less attractive the subject to which any great democratic principle of the rights of men is applied, the more illustrious is the triumph of that principle. You say that men are born with certain inalienable rights. You say that this touchstone principle is vital and fundamental. I take it and go and touch the king, and all bow down and say that he has rights. I will touch a noble woman. If she is a duchess, a woman is supposed to have a right to speak in meeting, and take part in public affairs. It is only when a woman is a common woman that she is out of her sphere in standing on the platform and addressing her fellow-creatures on great and important topics of general interest. If a woman has a coronet on her head, everybody thinks it is right enough for her to take part in public affairs. Queen Victoria may be constantly before the public, and millions of noodles, who have nothing to say against that, will argue against the right of a woman to appear in public. If I touch a duchess, and say, "All men are born free and equal, and with an inalienable right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," everybody says, "To be sure, a duchess has that right." I will go through the long list of counts, and squires, and barons, and rich burgesses, and touch them; and men say, "O, yes, those men are born free and equal." I will go to a scholar in Oxford. He is not very rich, but he is deeply learned; and men say, "Certainly, that man deserves the right of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." I will go down step by step till I come to the Cornish mines, and to the blackest and sootiest collier that is under ground, and will take that principle and touch him, and say, "Is it still true?" and there is many a shivering man that will say, "Well, things must not be carried to extremes; most men are born free and equal. That miserable underground whelp—I do not know about him!" But I touch the poorest man—the man that has not seen the sun for years and years—and say proudly, "This man, too, is born free, as much as the king on the throne, and is endowed with a right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" (applause). Any principle of government that will not take care of the weak is not fit to take care of the strong. Our Master came into human life, not at the front door, but at the back door, and not even at the back door of a house. He was born in a stable, with the very beasts; and he consorted with the poor, preaching the Gospel to them. In other words, he declared by his example the sound and sterling principle that, if God gives the right of liberty to the very lowest, He will much more give it to all that are above them. If you make the bottom of a cauldron boil, the top will boil also; but if you make the top hot, the bottom will not necessarily be hot too.

Now, in the application of this principle, I take not the collier, but the negro slave, and say to you, Fight for him, not because he is a negro or a slave, but because he is a man. For I hold that that idea of democracy which is the foundation on which this government is built applies not only to Americans, but to the Calmuck, the Tartar, the Cossack, the humblest inhabitant of England, the most miserable Irishman, and the poorest Ethiopian. There is not a man born of whom it is not true that by his nature he has a right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness (applause). That is the principle. Men say, "You are fighting for the negro." Yes, I am to-day. To-morrow I will fight for the South American, if need be; and the next day for the African on his own continent; and the next for the Madagascarine; and the next for the Japanese; and the next for the Chinaman; and so on, round and round the globe. And under our flag I trust that by our might this principle is to vindicate the right of every living creature on the face of God's earth (applause). Therefore, if a man says that I am an Abolitionist, I am, and I glory in it. I am for abolishing sin; I am for abolishing injustice; I am for abolishing corrupt and cunning pride; I am for abolishing all shackles and bonds; I am for abolishing hindrances and stumbling-blocks in the way of men. I am an out-and-out man that loves my fellow-men. I love the highest, I love those that are intermediate, and I love the lowest and the poorest, alike. Because I am taught of Christ I am for them. To-day it is the negro; to-morrow it is the Irishman; and I fight just as quick for one as for another whose rights are violated. And that every man ought to do that was born in this country, and that is worthy of the country in which he was born.—*H. W. Beecher.*

"NIGGER."—This offensive word is almost as common with the freedmen here as at the North, and far more common than with well-bred slaveholders. They have meekly accepted it. "Want to go out to de nigger-houses, sah," is the universal impulse of sociability, when they wish to cross the lines. "He hab twenty house-servants, an' two hundred head o' nigger," is a still more degrading form of phrase, in which the epithet is limited to the field-hands, and they estimated like so many cattle. This want of self-respect of course interferes with the authority of the non-commissioned officers, which is always difficult to sustain, even in white regiments. "He needn't try to play de white man ober me," was the protest of a soldier against his corporal the other day. To counteract this, I have often to remind them that they do not obey their officers because they are white, but because they are their officers; and guard duty is an admirable school for this, because they readily understand that the seageant or corporal of the guard has for the time more authority than any commissioned officer who is not on duty.—*T. W. Higginson, in Atlantic Monthly.*

RICHARD HILDRETH.

From Harper's Weekly.

WE observe with the greatest regret a statement that Richard Hildreth, the historian, who was appointed in 1861 Consul to Trieste, is hopelessly ill with a softening of the brain.

Mr. Hildreth is one of the quiet, patient, persistent, and efficient workmen, who do less for their own fame than that of others. He belongs to that great body of unrecognized students and authors who supply the hard-earned material upon which others build, like the coral insects, who invisibly construct the reefs upon which islands rise, in whose foliage the most brilliant birds soar and sing.

His history of the United States, from the settlement of the country down to 1821, fills six volumes, and is a monument of faithful labor and extensive research. It traces with clearness the steadily-progressive development of the great controversy which has now ended in civil war, and is a body of political information quite unsurpassed. It is none the less valuable that Mr. Hildreth is a Federalist of the Hamiltonian school, for recent events show beyond question that Hamilton was not altogether wrong in his estimate of the tendency of our system. The work has few graces of style; but it is clear and concise, and honest, and is indispensable to the student of American history.

Other works of Mr. Hildreth reveal the same qualities of accuracy and thoroughness; and his long fidelity to the principles which brought the Administration into power four years ago was properly recognized by his consular appointment. We had hoped that his labors might be suspended and his health established in the soft Adriatic air. But if the news be true, Mr. Hildreth is another of the learned and exhausted scholars by whose melancholy fate all hard workers with the brain should be warned.

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